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Constructing Pluralism in Seventeenth Century Livorno:
Managing Religious Minorities in a Mediterranean Free Port
(1537-1737)

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Stephanie Nadalo

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ABSTRACT

Constructing Pluralism in Seventeenth Century Livorno: Managing Religious Minorities in a Mediterranean Free Port (1537-1737)

Stephanie Nadalo

Catholic regimes in post-Tridentine Italy were expected to enforce religious orthodoxy domestically while supporting ideological and military Crusade abroad. However, the demands of spiritual stewardship often conflicted with the mercantilist interests of the state. Combining methodologies from social, cultural and urban history, this dissertation explores the strategies employed by the Medici Duchy of Tuscany to accommodate Jews, Protestants and Muslims within the Italian port of Livorno. In a desperate attempt to attract Levantine trade to the insalubrious Tuscan coast, in 1591 Grand Duke Ferdinando I issued a decree that offered economic, social and religious protections to immigrants from, “any nation, Eastern Levantines and Westerners, Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans, Italians, Jews, Turks, and Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others.” Thus, while regimes throughout Europe expelled religious minorities and enclosed Jews into *ghettos*, the Grand Duchy of Tuscany transformed Livorno into a haven for religious toleration.

As a city built and populated nearly *ex novo*, Livorno became a laboratory for architects, engineers and administrative officials to experiment with the recruitment and management of a religiously and ethnically diverse populace. From the lavish synagogue south of the main Cathedral to the humble mosques tucked into the galley slave quarters, the Medici regime’s protections influenced but did not nullify the defensive strategies employed by Livorno’s minority groups. Although the *Livornine* privileges ameliorated

many barriers to cross-cultural trade, the city housed a microcosm in which international, religious and political tensions were rehearsed daily. While the social lives of Livorno's mercantile elite were largely unregulated, their religious activities were heavily restricted, particularly for Protestants forced to stage religious ceremonies on boats and bury their dead in unsanctified private land. An even greater amount of compromise was necessary to manage the Muslim galley slaves crowded into Livorno's prison. Ultimately, the Medici's experiment in Livorno epitomized the potential benefits and risks of pursuing policies of enlightened self-interest. By the late seventeenth century, the port's political neutrality and pragmatic liberality became a reference point for discussions of religious toleration throughout Europe.

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COMMONLY CITED ABBREVIATIONS

ASF, Archivio di Stato di Firenze

MP, Mediceo del Principato*

*Portions of the archival material from the Archivio di Stato di Firenze volumes of the Mediceo del Principato are available electronically in partial transcription provided by the Medici Archive Project (<http://www.medici.org>). When applicable, the Medici Archive Project Document ID number is provided for reference (hereafter MAP ID).

ASL, Archivio di Stato di Livorno

ASP, Archivio di Stato di Pisa

ASV, Archivio di Stato di Venezia

NOMENCLATURE

Apropos of Leghorn-how barbarous does this English name of the seaport sound, in comparison with its Italian one, Livorno! I do not like our adopting the French mode of changing the euphonious names of foreign places into our language, when the original names are as easily pronounced, and are so much more agreeable to the ear.

- Lady Marguerite Blessington, 1839¹

Like all living languages, Italian changed significantly over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although the Florentine *literati* of the Accademia della Crusca published the first Italian language dictionary, the *Vocabulario*, in 1612, this rigid literary lexicon had a limited immediate effect on Italian grammar and orthography used by bureaucrats and merchants in Tuscany and elsewhere. Despite a nascent interest in linguistic standardization, seventeenth century government documents feature irregular grammatical structures, and multiple alternative spellings for the same word commonly appear within the text of a single scribe. For the purpose of clarity, the archival transcriptions cited in this text retain the documents' original grammar and spelling but accents marks, punctuation, and the identification of uncommon abbreviations have been added when appropriate. Unless otherwise stated, all translations into English are my own.

Proper nouns were subject to great variation in early modern Italian due to the existence of variant spellings and to the common use of distinct alternative names employed according to an author's purpose, language of communication, and cultural

¹Anglophone, particularly North American, scholarship had increasingly adopted the usage of the Italian spelling of Livorno in place of the British Leghorn. This development would have pleased the Irish novelist Lady Marguerite Blessington, as she expressed in her travel diary published in 1839. Lady Marguerite Blessington, *The Idler in Italy*, Vol. II (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1839), 294.

perspective. Some variant spellings are readily identifiable, such as the many derivatives of ‘Livorno’ that included the English Leghorn or Ligorn, the French *Livourne*, and the Portuguese *Liorne*. However, other toponyms have changed more significantly over time, such as the persistent reference to Constantinople to refer to Ottoman-controlled Istanbul, Ragusa to denote the Dalmatian maritime Republic that was centered in what is now the Croatian city of Dubrovnik, and Aleppo to describe the city of Haleb in Syria. The archival transcriptions cited below retain the original place names and alternative spellings, whereas the body of the text identifies people and locations using standardized spelling in American English.

Although Italian was the primary language of the Medici court, state business with foreign merchants and dignitaries was conducted using a variety of languages. Written communications with Northern European merchants and dignitaries from the Papal States were frequently written in Latin. Oral communication with representatives from the Maghreb and the Levant was typically conducted in Spanish when a Turkish or Arabic translator could not be present. The Tuscan officials working within early modern Livorno and the Florentine court were limited in their linguistic capacities and depended on translators to understand documents and oral communications issued in non-European languages or scripts. The research conducted for this dissertation has similar limitations; all the primary and secondary sources I consulted were written in Italian, Spanish, French, Latin, or English. Consequently, the archival transcriptions and analysis of Ottoman Turkish documents are based upon the regime’s Italian translations submitted to the Florentine Court by Imperial Dragomans or Medici state translators. With intrigue

and frustration I acknowledge the potential linguistic imprecision and cultural misunderstandings inherent to these Italian translations.

CALENDARS AND CONVERSIONS

Early modern calendric and time-telling systems were subject to significant variations based on an author's geographical location, religion, and political affiliation. The Gregorian calendar, now accepted as the international civil calendar, was adopted on February 24, 1582 during the Reign of Pope Gregory XIII. However, individuals throughout Italy continued to use the dating systems customary for specific regions. Whereas the Gregorian calendar began the New Year on January 1st, the Florentine calendar celebrated the New Year on March 25th during the Feast of the Annunciation, and the Venetian calendar celebrated the New Year on March 1st. The Florentine dating system was officially in use within the Tuscan Grand Duchy until 1751. Tuscan bureaucrats often dated their letters and reports followed by *ab. inc.*, or *ab incarnatione*, to signify their use of the Florentine calendar. However, this practice was inconsistent and in some cases the dating of documents originating from outside Tuscany cannot be determined with absolute certainty.

Non-Christian dating systems included more significant differences. The Islamic Ottoman calendar, the *Hijri*, was a lunar calendar that began with the seventh century emigration of the prophet Mohammad from Mecca to Medina. The *Hijri* then recorded lunar cycles marked by the sighting of the first crescent moon of each cycle. Consequently, the Islamic calendar is between 10-12 days shorter than the Gregorian civil year. Correspondents from Islamic regimes in North Africa and the Ottoman Empire

frequently dated letters according to the Islamic Ottoman calendar. In most instances the approximate corresponding date within the Gregorian calendar can be inferred from the context of corroborating Medici documentation. Archival transcriptions in this dissertation record the date as indicated by the original author, while the textual analysis cites the modern date as it correlates to the Gregorian calendar.

Lastly, the monetary units, currencies, and exchange rates used in Early Modern Europe were subject to great regional variation. Merchants and bureaucrats in Early Modern Tuscany recorded prices using both abstract accounting figures and actual circulating currencies. In Livorno, the principal long-distance currency was the silver piece of eight, which was analogous to the Spanish *real di otto*. Accounting books were typically recorded in a fractional system divided into *pezzi*, *soldi* and *denari*, which had correlating values in *lire and scudi*. This dissertation cites monetary values and prices as indicated in the archival documents but does not attempt to convert these figures into modern currency values.²

² For a description of currency conversions, see Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), xi-xii.

Dedicated to my parents

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I. INTRODUCTION

Constructing Pluralism in Seventeenth Century Livorno (1537-1737)

The social and economic benefits of religious toleration emerged as a fundamental issue during the Enlightenment when *philosophes* promoted religious freedom as vital to the welfare of a state. However, long before such ideas were systematically articulated an experiment in state-mandated pluralism was underway in the Tuscan port of Livorno. From the lavish synagogue situated prominently south of the main Cathedral to the humble mosques tucked into the galley slave barracks, the urban fabric of the seventeenth century port was the result of a grand socio-economic experiment that promoted the peaceful co-habitation of people with diverse religious, ethnic, and national origins. While cities elsewhere in post-Tridentine Italy expelled religious minorities and enclosed Jews into ghettos, in 1591, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando I de' Medici (r. 1587-1609), issued the *Livornine* legislation, which offered social, religious, and economic protections to new residents of Livorno and Pisa, including, "all merchants of any nation, Eastern Levantines and Westerners, Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans, and Italians, Jews, Turks, and Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others."¹

Citing the "desire for public benefit," the *Livornina* decree stood apart from previous settlement incentives, both in the breadth of its promises and the scope of its

¹ The publically circulated *Livornina* decree was issued in 1591 and re-issued with changes in 1593; collectively they are referred to as the *Livornine*. Ferdinando de' Medici, "Livornina" manuscript dated June 10, 1593. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, Manuscript Number: ljs379. For published transcriptions of the *Livornine* and discussion of differences between the versions see Hiromi Saito, "Una altra edizione de 'La Livornina'," *Mediterranean World* 14 (1995): 137-149; Paolo Castignoli and Lucia Frattarelli Fischer (eds), *Le Livornine del 1591 e 1593* (Livorno: Cooperativa Edile Risorgimento, 1988).

demographic success. First issued in 1591, and reissued with minor changes in 1593, the *Livornine* decree enumerated forty-four articles that guaranteed émigrés the rights to safe passage, security against excessive taxation, and the ability to store their merchandise for up to two years without customs fees. New arrivals were empowered to purchase private or commercial real estate and engage in any trade or profession. Although addressed to “all nations,” most clauses in the *Livornine* were specifically engineered to attract merchants from the Sephardic Jewish Diaspora. The Duke offered Livorno’s Jewish immigrants protection from prosecution by the Holy Roman Inquisition and assured their right to hold public funerals, dress without an identifying sign, erect synagogues, establish Talmudic schools, and purchase kosher meat at market price. Further provisions discouraged discriminatory practices within Livorno, counteracted the evangelism of Catholics, and protected religious minorities from slander, abuse, and violence. Although the Medici regime enforced Jewish ghettos and Inquisitional campaigns in Florence, Siena, and the rest of the Tuscan dominion, using the *Livornine* they strategically developed Livorno as a frontier of toleration within the interior of the post-Tridentine Catholic duchy.

Despite the scale and specificity of the *Livornine* protections, Duke Ferdinando’s 1591/1593 invitation was not a humanitarian gesture. Rather, Livorno’s pluralistic legacy began as a desperate act of economic pragmatism necessary to stabilize the domestic and foreign affairs of the Tuscan duchy. Historically, the nearby port of Pisa had served Tuscany’s maritime needs since Florence’s 1406 conquest and 1509 reconquest of the Pisan Republic. However, by the mid-sixteenth century silt deposits from the Arno River had severed the once-flourishing medieval harbor from the coast. As

Florentine merchants grew dependent upon competitors' ports, particularly the Adriatic port of Ancona, the parvenu Medici Duchy of Tuscany became increasingly vulnerable to economic stagnation and the threat of coastal raids by Barbary pirates. The maritime paralysis culminated in the dramatic effort to construct and populate a new port within the malaria-infested territory southwest of Pisa.

Despite miles of undeveloped Tyrrhenian coastline, Tuscan topography featured only one natural harbor in relative proximity to the Arno River, which linked the seacoast to the commercial and courtly capital of Florence. The site was located twelve miles southwest of Pisa and was known as Livorno, from the Latin *Ligurnas*.² However, the marshy area was notorious for its insalubrious conditions. As the Medici court physician Pietro Orsilago (1529-1543) lamented in a poem addressed to Bishop de' Marzi, "The men here become green, yellow, and bloated / And they call this illness the Livornese, that ruins the body and even worse the brain, ... Phlegm filled cough, spots, and pain/ ... with trenches, stagnant water, the putrid bogs at every plain."³ With a dwindling population, total lack of infrastructure, and malarial conditions severe enough to name the

² Seventeenth and eighteenth century chroniclers struggled to identify classical sources that referenced the Latin origins of Livorno's name. Among the etymologies suggested were *Ligurnas* derived from the coastal region of Liguria, *Libarno* as a reference to the Arno River, *Labrone* from the Temple of Hercules and *Liburne* from the Liburni people of Illyria who "invented and constructed" the pirate galleons of antiquity. Nicola Magri, *Cronica di Livorno* (1647), in A. Santelli (ed.), *Stato antico, e moderno ovvero origine di Livorno*, Vol. I (Firenze: Gaetano Cambiagi, 1769), 28.

³"In questo loco/ Non c'è viso che viso abbia di viso/Gli uomini qui si fan verdi, gialli, e pregni,/ E chiaman questo mal la livornese,/ Che guasta i corpi e molto più gli ingegni./ ... Tosse catarri, punte, e mal di fianco/ Generan Libeccio e Scirocco/ ma molto peggio fan di questi assai/ I fossi, i stagni, i putridi pantani/ che si vedon per tutti questi piani." Poem cited in Paolo Castignoli (ed.), *L'arte degli speciali a Livorno nell'età medicea* (Livorno: Cooperative edile Risorgimento 1989), 9. Transcribed by R. Radicchi, "Pietro Orsilago: poeta, letterato, e medico condotto a Livorno," *La Canaviglia* (1983): 83-93. "Ingegneri" can mean brain or intelligence. Libeccio and Scirocco are two Mediterranean winds; the Libeccio is humid and blows from the west/south west and the Scirocco is a dry wind from the south that blows North African sand across the Mediterranean. Early modern medical theory attributed great significance to the affect of different winds on the humors and health of the body, and this in turn affected town planning.

disease *il Livornese*, the Tuscan duchy was compelled to make significant capital investments and offer persuasive incentives to potential émigrés in the hope of successfully developing Livorno as a functioning port.

The Medici rulers of Tuscany experimented with both attractive and coercive immigration policies in their sustained effort to populate Livorno. However, despite liberal tax exemptions and aggressive infrastructural improvements during the reigns of Duke Cosimo I and Francesco I (r. 1574-87), the port had failed to attract solvent investors and the population remained disproportionately comprised of soldiers, famished peasants, convicts, exiles, and slaves. The situation grew acute in 1590, when record flooding along the Arno River banks destroyed crops and exacerbated grain shortages. With a populace at risk of starvation and desperately in need of Ottoman-controlled Baltic grain, Duke Ferdinando was left with few viable alternatives. Thus, in a bold act of enlightened self-interest the Grand Duke offered the *Livornine* protections to Jewish and other non-Catholics merchants in the hope that their foreign would populate the new seaport, replenish the region's grain provisions, and salvage the commercial and political future of the Medici Duchy.⁴

Duke Ferdinando's policies of enlightened self-interest fostered religious and national diversity in a city whose extraordinary growth exceeded the expectations of its urban planners. **[Fig. 1.1]** Whereas settlement incentives issued in 1549-51 by Duke Cosimo I were ineffectual, the 1591-93 *Livornine* rapidly transformed Livorno from a small backwater harbor into a bustling international port. At the same time that

⁴ Edward Goldberg uses the term "enlightened self-interest" to describe the Medici's socio-economic Jewish policy within the port of Livorno. Edward L. Goldberg, *Jews and Magic in Medici Florence: The Secret World of Benedetto Blanis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 62.

demographic trends for Florence, Siena, and Pisa tended towards stagnation and depopulation, Livorno's growth was meteoric. In the closing decades of the sixteenth century, the harbor of Livorno struggled to maintain a permanent population of five hundred. By 1609, the population reached 5,800 and in 1642 swelled to 12,000, surpassing that of nearby Pisa (10,000).⁵ By the mid seventeenth century, the port emerged as a cosmopolitan emporium whose diverse mercantile *nazioni*, or "nations," were empowered through resident consuls and various representative bodies.⁶ By 1689, Livorno hosted a resident population of over twenty-one thousand, including communities of Sephardic Jews, Orthodox and Catholic Greeks, Protestant Dutch, English, French, Catholic and schismatic Armenians.⁷ Although motivated by economic opportunism, Livorno's experiment in state-mandated pluralism was without parallel in post-Tridentine Italy and resulted in the relatively peaceable cohabitation within a multi-ethnic and multi-religious community.

⁵ Likewise, Livorno's Jewish population increased from roughly 700 in 1633 to 3,300 in 1650 and 5,000 in 1689. Livorno's secondary source demographic data is compiled and discussed in Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 54-56. See also ASF, MP, 1829, f. 221 (estimates 3,200 people in 1599); ASF, MP, 2145, f. 8011 (lists 4,975 people in 1601); ASF, MP, 2328a, unpagged folio (lists 21,194 people in census from 1689); G. Pardi, "Disegno della storia demografica di Livorno," *Archivio Storico Italiano* LXXVI (1918): 1-96; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Esenzioni e immigrazione a Livorno tra Sedicesimo e Diciassettesimo Secolo," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978), 56-75; Elena Fasano Guarini, "La popolazione," in *Livorno: progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 199-215.

⁶ In the context of Early Modern Europe and the Mediterranean, the term *nazione* carried a semantic value that was distinct from the modern conception of nation as a discrete governmental or state entity. While the Italian term *nazione* often referred to the origin of one's birth, it was also used to identify groups of foreign communities who were officially recognized as corporate bodies by the state. Membership within the diverse *nazioni* was not strictly based on birthplace origin. The membership of Livorno's Jewish *nazione*, for example, drew from across the vast Sephardic diaspora and included individuals from Iberia, North Africa, and Northern Europe. Giangiacomo Panessa, *Nazioni e consolati in Livorno: 400 anni di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 1998).

⁷ ASF, MP, 2328a, unpagged folio. Livorno's 1689 census is discussed in chapter three and published in Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi: Inedite o rare* (Livorno: U. Bastogi Editore, 1888), 174.

With the Tuscan economy hanging in the balance, the regime had a vested interest in developing legal, urban, and socio-economic tactics for incorporating foreigners and religious minorities into the economic and civic life of the port while still honouring their commitment to uphold post-Tridentine Catholic orthodoxy. As a city and society built and populated nearly *ex novo*, Livorno became a laboratory for architects and administrative officials to experiment with legislative and spatial solutions to promote trade and encourage peaceful pluralistic coexistence. The *Livornine* enabled émigrés and non-Catholics to own property and actively shape the city's urban development. Consequently, foreigners and religious minorities had a visible presence within the port. As a result, Livorno's urban topography diverged sharply from that of established cities like Venice or Rome and the port developed unfettered by a powerful landed aristocracy or a state-imposed Jewish ghetto.⁸

Indeed, for some visitors Livorno appeared to be an almost ideal exemplum of religious pluralism, where, as the French Huguenot François Maximilien Misson euphemistically observed in 1687, "merchants of every country and religion live in complete liberty."⁹ Misson's travel narrative published in 1691, *Nouveau voyage d'Italie*, introduced Livorno as, "a completely new city ... the only ocean port of the Duchy of

⁸ For a more detailed assessment of Livorno's urban development see Dario Matteoni, *Livorno: la città nella storia dell'Italia* (Livorno: Belforte Editore, 1985); Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Lo sviluppo di una città portuale: Livorno, 1575-1720," in Marco Folin (ed.), *Sistole/Diastole. Episodi di trasformazione urbana nell'Italia delle città* (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), 271-333; Cornelia Joy Danielson, "Livorno: a Study in 16th Century Town Planning in Italy" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1986); G. Nudi, *Storia urbanistica di Livorno dalle origini al secolo XVI* (Venezia: N. Pozza, 1959).

⁹ "Livourne est un Port libre, où les Marchands de tout pays & de toute Religion vivent en pleine liberté." c. 1687, Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d'Italie*, Vol. IV (La Haye: 1702-1717), 75-76. See also Davide Ultimieri, *Livorno descritto dai viaggiatori Francesi (1494-1836)* (Livorno: Editrice L'Informazione, 2000), 18-20.

Tuscany,” that is, “a free port.”¹⁰ For Misson, religious toleration was evident in the Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim spaces that were located within and around the city.¹¹ However, despite the Frenchman’s unbridled enthusiasm for Livorno’s “complete liberty,” Livorno’s religious pluralism was distinct from the ideals of religious tolerance or natural rights theory later theorized by Enlightenment *philosophes*.

While the 1591/1593 *Livornine* decree ameliorated many legal and economic barriers to cross-cultural migration and trade, these protections were particularistic and contingent upon negotiations between individuals, community leaders and representatives of the Grand Duke. Moreover, the decrees constituted a public acknowledgement of the Medici regime’s Janus-faced Jewish and Levantine policies. While the Medici offered refuge for Jews in the port of Livorno and city of Pisa, they simultaneously enforced Jewish ghettos in Florence, Siena, and the rest of the Tuscan dominion.¹² Meanwhile, the invitation to Turkish and Moorish merchants was overshadowed by the regime’s militant support for the Tuscan Naval Order of St. Stephen, whose unscrupulous corsairing against the Ottoman ‘infidel’ supplied the Catholic Duchy with a steady stream of war trophies and booty, including money, merchandise, and Turkish and Moorish slaves.¹³

¹⁰ François Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, Vol. III (La Haye: Chez Henry Van Builderen, 1698), 268-269.

¹¹ For further discussion of Misson and Livorno’s non-Catholic minority spaces, see chapter four.

¹² Certain Levantine Jews benefitted from the *Livornine* privileges throughout the Grand Duchy and were thus exempted from living in the Florentine ghetto. See Goldberg, *Jews and Magic in Medici Florence*, 114. On the Florentine ghetto as an act of territorial consolidation, see Stefanie Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

¹³ Franco Angiolini, *I cavalieri e il principe: L’Ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna* (Pisa: Edizioni Firenze, 1996).

Although the social and spiritual dangers of Livorno's religious pluralism elicited concern from papal Inquisitors, Tuscany's economic competitors objected most vociferously to the port's fiscal and criminal asylum. While the *Livornine* privileges extended protection to religious minorities, they also granted immunity to debtors and criminal delinquents whose crimes were committed outside the Tuscan duchy. Likewise, policies preventing the arbitrary seizure of foreign property similarly protected pirated goods and war booty. Consequently, the same opportunistic policies that fostered Livorno's religious pluralism simultaneously fuelled the port's prominence in black-market piracy and the Mediterranean slave trade, resulting in what Fernand Braudel called the "Algiers of Christendom."¹⁴ Despite the ethical ambiguities of Livorno's prominence within the Mediterranean slave economy, the regime's leniency towards black market trade elicited the harshest criticism. In 1652, the Venetian resident in Tuscany, Giovanni Ambrogio Sarotti, observed the port's corrupt business practices and reported to the Serenissima's Senate, "It is true that Livorno is a nest of dishonest people, without soul in their conscience, without faith in their words, and without shame in their actions."¹⁵

Duke Ferdinando I's successors upheld the majority of the *Livornine* privileges, and by 1676 Livorno's economic liberality and political neutrality was codified within

¹⁴ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Vol. II (1949) (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 867.

¹⁵ In a dispatch to the Venetian Senate dated July 5, 1652, Giovanni Ambrogio Sarotti writes, "Vero è che Livorno è un nido di persone di malaffare, senz'anima nella loro conoscenza, senza fede nella parola, senza vergogna nelle attioni, in che conserva loro il Gran Duca una tal ritratta, in asilo con scandalo d'ognuno." ASV, Senato Secreta Dispacci degli Ambasciatori, 61, folio 74.

the typology of the *porto franco*, or free port.¹⁶ Although foreign consuls in Livorno lobbied aggressively seeking preferential treatment from the Tuscan Duchy, the regime was resolute in maintaining the port's neutrality. Irrespective of the Grand Duchy's entangled foreign alliances outside of the port, Livorno's state appointed Governor was responsible for repeatedly brokering non-aggression agreements between the consuls of warring nations.¹⁷ When the ongoing skirmishes of the first Anglo-Dutch mercantile war (1652-1654) erupted off the coast of Livorno on March 4, 1653, the naval battle between English and Dutch ships became a spectator sport for Livorno's residents who watched from the ramparts of the fortified harbor. While the fanfare leading up to this battle was described in textual sources, artists including Pietro Ciaffiero captured the battle's atmosphere in a number of his paintings.¹⁸ [Fig. 1.2] However, when the cannon smoke cleared and the Dutch emerged victorious, ships from both sides of the skirmish were

¹⁶ Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana: i Medici, Storia d'Italia* (Torino: UTET, 1976), 395-8; Corey Tazzara, "Masterpiece of the Medici: Commerce, Politics, and the Making of the Free Port of Livorno, 1574-1790" (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 2011).

¹⁷ See Marcella Aglietti, "The consular institution between war and commerce, state and nation: Comparative examples in eighteenth century Europe," in *War, Trade, and Neutrality: Europe and the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*, ed. Antonella Alimento (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 41-54. Livorno's neutrality was renewed by the Hapsburg-Lorraine successors who ruled Tuscany following the 1737 death of the last heir to the Medici dynasty, the Grand Duke Gian Gastone de' Medici. In 1796, Napoleon was invited to Tuscany as an ally of the Hapsburg-Lorraine Duke Ferdinando III. However, Napoleon soon violated Livorno's neutrality by seizing English merchandise in the port and eventually arresting Livorno's Governor. Desmond Gregory, *Napoleon's Italy* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2001), 25, 32, 116, 150.

¹⁸ A series of seventeenth-century pamphlets discussed the ongoing diplomatic debate between the English and the Dutch. See Henry Appleton, *A Remonstrance of the Fight in Legorn-Road between the English and the Dutch with all the passages of the treaty held by the great Duke of Florence before the same* (London: Printed by John Field, 1653); Richard Appleton Henry Badiley et al., *Capt. Badiley's Answer unto Capt. Appleton's Remonstrance* (London: M. Simmons, 1653). On the first Anglo-Dutch War (1652-54) see Jonathan I. Israel, "Phases of the Dutch Straatvaart," *Empires and Entrepots: the Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy, and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990), 133-64.

allowed to dock in Livorno's port, where the Grand Duke dictated that all fighting must cease and the victors were forbidden to publically celebrate their triumph.

Military conflicts such as the Anglo-Dutch war were particularly challenging for the foreign consuls in Livorno who had to mediate their dual roles as both representatives for belligerent nations and as local peacekeepers charged with acting in the best interest of their mercantile community. Although the limits of Livorno's military neutrality were constantly put to the test, Livorno's neutrality was enforced until the Napoleonic occupation of 1796. In 1691, Livorno's Governor Alessandro del Borro concluded an official treaty between the consuls of Spain, Britain, France and the United Provinces for "the observance of neutrality and security of all those in the port and on the shores of Livorno."¹⁹ By 1757, the Lorraine Grand Duke and Emperor Francis Stephen reinforced Livorno's neutrality in a detailed treaty that existed independent from any particular consular endorsements.

Medici state propaganda actively promoted Livorno's reputation as a safe harbor. **[Fig. 1.3]** The positive association between mercantile prosperity and protected pluralism was rendered literal by Duke Ferdinando II in 1656, when the regime began circulating a gold coin, or *tollero*, that featured the Duke's bust on one side and on the other an image of Livorno's port with the motto, "*diversis gentibus una*," or, "of many diverse peoples one [city]."²⁰ With the gold florin no longer in international circulation, the new gold

¹⁹ Aglietti, "The consular institution between war and commerce, state and nation," 47.

²⁰ The gold *tollero* weighed 3.48 grams. See Silvana Balbi del Caro, "La monetazione Granducale per Livorno," in Silvana Balbi del Caro (ed.), *Merci e monete a Livorno in età granducale* (Livorno: Silvana, 1997), 147-158. Livorno's currency also discussed by Frattarelli Fischer, "Lo sviluppo di una città portuale: Livorno, 1575-1720," 312; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Stefano Villani, "'People of every mixture.' Immigration, Tolerance and Religious Conflicts in Early Modern Livorno," in Ann Katherine Isaacs

tollero was designed to compete with similarly valued Spanish pieces and the German *ungheri*. As such, Livorno's new coin and its pluralistic motto were intended to circulate in markets throughout Europe, the Mediterranean, and Levant. Duke Cosimo III continued this tradition in 1670 by issuing a silver coin that featured Livorno's harbor with the motto, "*et patet et favet*, meaning "open and protected," on the obverse. [Fig. 1.4] The intended message was not lost on contemporaries, as the French Dominican missionary Jean-Baptiste Labat attested in his description published in 1730:

The coins of the Grand Duke are called *Livournines*, on one side they have a bust of the Prince, and on the other, the port of Livorno and a view of the city with these words, *et patet et favet*, to make it known that [the port] is open to the whole world, and that one enjoys the protection of the Prince.²¹

Medicean Livorno offers an ideal case study to distinguish between the myths of pre-Enlightenment religious toleration from the realities of early modern pluralistic cohabitation. Although Livorno's political neutrality and consular regime ameliorated many of the cultural and linguistic barriers to trade cross-cultural trade, the uneven application of the *Livornine* privileges agitated local power hierarchies and required regime officials to arbitrate between the diverse nations. Given the port's ethnic and religious diversity, the city housed a microcosm in which international, religious, and political tensions were rehearsed through the daily negotiations of business and trade. The management of Livorno's motley population required compromise and concession

(ed.), *Immigration/Emigration in Historical Perspective* (Pisa: Edizioni Plus-Pisa University Press, 2007), 93-107. Trivellato alternatively dates the coin's first minting to 1676 and suggests the translation, "many diverse people, one city." Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 96.

²¹ "Les écus du Grand Duc appelés Livournines, portent d'un côté le buste du Prince, & de l'autre le Port de Livourne, & une vue de la Ville avec ces mots, & *patet & favet*, pour faire connoître qu'il est ouvert à tout le monde, & qu'on jouit de la protection du Prince." Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Voyage de P. Labat de l'Ordre des FF. Prêcheurs en Espagne et en Italie*, Vol. II (Paris: Chez Jean-Baptiste Delespine à Saint Paul, 1730), 132.

from regime officials and immigrants alike. Early modern commentators alternatively scorned and celebrated the diverse effects of Livorno's liberalism, calling the port both a "sanctuary of offenders" and a "promised land" for Jews."²² Nonetheless, by the close of the seventeenth century, Livorno had secured its place among the major ports of Europe. As the English writer Edward Chamberlayne acknowledged in 1683, "of a Nest of Pirates, Murtherers, &c. who formerly Inhabited it, [Livorno has] become famous throughout the World."²³

Chapter Descriptions

Combining methodologies from social, cultural, and urban history, "Constructing Pluralism in Seventeenth Century Livorno: Managing a Mediterranean Free Port" examines how Livorno's religious pluralism was "constructed" in two ways—first, through the implementation of legislation that artificially encouraged peaceful pluralism within the port, and secondly, through the physical creation of a new city to house the heterogeneous polity. From Duke Cosimo I's abortive efforts to secretly populate Livorno with Portuguese *marranos* to the efforts of the last Medici ruler Gian Gastone (r. 1723-1737), Livorno's development over the 'long seventeenth century' offers insight into the Medici regime's evolving strategy for the utility and proper management of a religiously and linguistically diverse populace. While the chronological bookends for this study (1537-1737) coincide with the effective beginning and end of the Medici's tenure

²² Livorno was described as a "sanctuary of offenders" by Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (1617), Vol. I (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 315; "Ces gens regardent Livourne ... comme une nouvelle terre de promission," Labat, *Voyages du P. Labat*, 135.

²³ Edward Chamberlayne, "Chapter LXXIV: A View of Leghorn," *The present state of England containing ... the trade and commerce within itself, and with all countries traded to by the English, as at this day established, and all other matters relating to inland and marine affairs* (London: William Whitwood, 1683), 225.

as Dukes of a consolidated Tuscany, the two centuries span notable changes within the theory and practice of religious toleration.

The history of religious pluralism lies at the center of an ongoing discourse wherein historians, theologians, and political scientists propose a variety of methodological frameworks to analyze the phenomena of “toleration”, “cosmopolitanism,”²⁴ and “pluralism,”²⁵ as distinct elements with a shared legacy. In describing a state’s explicit or tacit acceptance of a heterogeneous polity, many scholars of early modern Europe avoid the term “toleration” due to its teleological and ideological

²⁴ Of these three terms, the concept of cosmopolitanism has the longest lineage and derives from the Greek *kosmopolitēs*, meaning citizen of the world. Although the philosophy of classical Greece and Rome tended to emphasize an individual’s allegiance to his city or *polis*, third-century Stoics conceived of the cosmos as a polis and Roman Stoics extended citizenship to all human beings by virtue of their rationality. Stoic cosmopolitanism had a large influence on early Christianity, particularly within Augustine’s formulation of citizenship within ‘the city of God.’ In the early modern period, humanists emphasized the essential unity of all religions and Erasmus of Rotterdam drew on ancient cosmopolitanism to formulate the concept of a worldwide peace. Some early modern natural law theorists argued that all humans shared a fundamental striving towards self-preservation, which could occasionally manifest in a shared sociability in a world community. By the eighteenth century, the term cosmopolitan had acquired its more general sense of open-mindedness, impartiality, and identification with a shared world culture. The *Encyclopédie* published through the collective efforts of Enlightenment thinkers between 1751-1772 identified ‘cosmopolitan’ as a term used to signify a “man of no fixed abode, or a man who is nowhere a stranger.” For some eighteenth-century thinkers the term acquired more philosophically rigorous implications that implicated a sense of shared responsibilities and the collective effort to promote one world culture. Although cosmopolitanism was sometimes interpreted as staunch individualism, it could also imply the positive moral idea of universal human community. Later thinkers linked the moral concept to political theory through the creation of a worldwide state or the Kantian “league of nations.” The economic form of cosmopolitan theory advocated less state intervention in the economy, which essentially supported the idea of freer trade advocated by Adam Smith. See Pauline Kleingeld, and Eric Brown, “Cosmopolitanism,” in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2011 Edition)*, accessed July 22, 2013: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2011/entries/cosmopolitanism/>.

²⁵ According to Douglas Harper, the word pluralism was first used in 1818 as a term in church administration. By 1882, pluralism was used as philosophical term to describe a theory that recognizes more than one ultimate principle. The term pluralism was used in the context of political science in 1919 by the British Marxist Harold Laski to describe a theory that “opposes monolithic state power.” The contemporary notion of pluralism as the toleration of diversity within a society or state was used as early as 1933. Douglas Harper, ed., “Pluralism,” *Online Etymology Dictionary*, accessed July 22, 2013: <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=pluralism>; Elinor Mason, “Value Pluralism,” in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Fall 2011 Edition)*, accessed July 22, 2013, <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/fall2011/entries/value-pluralism>; David Basinger, “Religious Diversity (Pluralism),” in Edward N. Zalta (ed.), *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2012 Edition)*, accessed July 22, 2013: <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2012/entries/religious-pluralism/>.

baggage. While this dissertation tends to employ the ostensibly more neutral term, ‘state-mandated pluralism,’ I nonetheless argue that the Tuscan Grand Duchy’s policies of enlightened self-interest in Livorno constitute a significant chapter within the *long durée* history of religious toleration. However, this claim is only tenable if one distinguishes the theory of toleration from its practice and thus historicizes the medieval notion of *tolerantia*, early modern “tolerations,” and the Enlightenment ideal of universal “tolerance.” Ultimately, this historiographical foundation is necessary to dislodge subsequent analysis of Livorno’s religious pluralism from a still-pervasive Whig teleology.

Scholarship on the origins of pragmatic toleration has heretofore focused on the Dutch Republic and the Ottoman Empire as providing the two primary models whereby early modern states integrated or tacitly tolerated religious minorities. Chapter two, “Frontiers of Toleration: Europe, the Mediterranean, and Catholic Italy,” examines these models and posits that a third, specifically Catholic tradition for religious toleration existed within the discourse and practice of Early Modern Italy. As articulated by the late sixteenth century political thinker and anti-Machiavellian, Giovanni Botero, certain religious minorities could be tolerated by Catholic princes if their presence served larger economic or diplomatic reasons of state, or “*ragion di stato*.” Although Botero and his contemporaries envisioned such indulgences as temporary, limited, and revocable, the demographic, diplomatic, and economic crisis that faced Early Modern Tuscany required the Medici regime to expand the scale and scope of official and unofficial religious tolerations in Livorno.

Nonetheless, the centrality of Catholicism within the communal identity of the Tuscan Grand Duchy was unquestionable. Although the regime enthusiastically promoted Livorno's protections for foreigners and religious minorities, the Medici closely guarded their Papal, Spanish, and Imperial allies. By emphatically celebrating the Grand Duke's role as defender of the Catholic faith, Medici propaganda reinforced how the Duke unilaterally granted Livorno's liberal religious privileges. As demonstrated in chapter three, "Populating a 'Nest of Pirates, Murtherers, Etc.': Toleration, Asylum and *Ragion di Stato* in the Free Port of Livorno," the toleration for non-Catholics in Livorno was rooted in a fundamentally different political premise than the freedom of conscience adapted in the United Dutch Provinces and later advocated by Enlightenment *philosophes*.

Chapter four, "Mosques without Minarets, a Ghetto Without Walls: Minority Topographies and the Tactics of Inclusion," examines how the Medici regime integrated foreigners and religious minorities into the economic and civil life of Livorno using the juridical separation of mercantile nations, the internal leadership of the consular system, and the incentives of citizenship rights. While Livorno's institutional structures were paramount in keeping peace between the port's diverse communities, the *Livornine* protections did not nullify the defensive social strategies employed by Livorno's minority communities.

Livorno's frontier society developed unfettered by segregated merchant *fondacos*, an official Jewish ghetto, or even powerful local gentry. However, since property rights, religious space, and group identity were intimately linked, Livorno's foreign groups negotiated for concessions from the Grand Duke. Although anxious bureaucrats worked

to refine the terms of legal cohabitation to deter illicit mixing between religious groups, syncretic forms of pluralistic sociality emerged. While the social lives of Livorno's mercantile elite were largely unregulated, their religious activities were heavily restricted, particularly for Protestants forced to stage religious ceremonies on boats and bury their dead in unsanctified private land. Whether faced with external pressure from the Vatican or internal pressure from the foreign communities, Livorno's officials frequently sought a compromise solution by selectively turning a blind eye to behaviours that were officially prohibited. While the management of Livorno's minority topographies offer insight into local power struggles within the port, the perception of these spaces by outsiders reveal that Livorno helped foster a growing awareness of the potential benefits and perceived dangers of religious pluralism.

An even greater amount of compromise was necessary for the management of Livorno's Muslim population within the purpose-built slave prison, or *bagno*. Chapter five, "Harboring the Infidel: Negotiating Slavery in Livorno's Turkish *Bagno*," demonstrates that although the *bagno* was conceived with a fiscal and disciplinary intention, the slave institution inadvertently offered Muslim slaves a space for social cohesion and limited individual enfranchisement. Moreover, due to the reciprocal nature of the Christian-Muslim slave trade, Livorno's *bagno* led to increased communication between the Tuscan Duchy and officials of the Barbary Coast despite the absence of formal diplomatic ties with the Ottoman Empire. Since the regime came to depend upon educated slaves to serve as translators and intermediaries for ransom negotiations, Livorno's slave prison must be understood as an institution of critical importance to both the personal strategies of individual slaves and the economic and political strategies of

the Tuscan Grand Duchy.²⁶ The dissertation concludes with final reflections on Livorno's cosmopolitan legacy in "Livorno, a '*cacciucco di gente*.'" However, at the very onset it is important to recognize how Livorno's more recent past affected today's historiographical and archival lacunae.

Livorno's Historiography and Archival Lacunae

Much of Livorno's local archival material was damaged or destroyed during the Napoleonic occupation of the port in 1796. Several significant archival lacunae date to the Napoleonic period, including the missing records from Livorno's Customs House, the *Dogana*, in addition to the damage and depletion of Livorno's civil and criminal court records. While these losses were substantial, it was the allied bombing of Livorno in WWII that virtually erased the urban fabric of the historic city. The material, economic, and cultural trauma of Livorno's 1943 destruction presented a serious impediment to scholarly interest in the early modern history of the port. Although local chroniclers narrated Livorno's history within nineteenth and early twentieth centuries travel guides and edited volumes of archival transcriptions, Livorno's history remained estranged from the interests of professional historians until the mid twentieth-century.²⁷

In 1955, Livorno received serious analytical attention from the French *Annales* School in a study published by Fernand Braudel and Ruggiero Romano. Their limited but influential contribution to Livorno's economic history consisted of a quantitative analysis

²⁶ Stephanie Nadalo, "Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier: Livorno's Turkish *Bagno* (1547-1747)," *Mediaevalia* 32 (2011): 275-324.

²⁷ The work of nineteenth and early twentieth century chroniclers are invaluable as testimony, albeit mediated, to information contained within archival records that are no longer extant. These include Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi*; Francesco Pera, *Ricordi e biografie Livornesi* (Livorno: Francesco Vigo, 1867); Giuseppe Vivoli, *Annali di Livorno* (Livorno: Giulio Sardi, 1842); Giuseppe Piombanti, *Guida storica ed artistica della città e dei dintorni di Livorno* (Livorno: Forni, 1903).

of the port's extant shipping records (*portate*) from 1547 to 1611. Braudel and Romano used these records to demonstrate Livorno's rapid integration into global trade patterns over the course of the late sixteenth century.²⁸ As the authors expressed in the introduction, the statistical study of Livorno was intended to serve as a preliminary step towards a comparative economic history of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Mediterranean. Although Braudel and Romano made only passing references to Livorno's pluralistic social and cultural history, they nonetheless issued a rousing call to action for economic historians to consider Livorno as integral to the Mediterranean and global economy:

Finally, one perceives yet again that there can never be a pure, clearly delimited local history. A discovery without surprise, when examining the activity of a port! Livorno in the sixteenth century constantly implicates the entire economy of Tuscany, Italy, and the Mediterranean, and beyond the Mediterranean, the young and powerful Northern countries, even distant oceans. The Livornese documents on the movement of ships insert us unavoidably within the unstable history of trade routes and transportation. One is obliged, then, relentlessly—but not without pain—to leave the framework of Livornese, Tuscan, and Italian history, and make many journeys, to cite the some extreme cases, to Moscow, Brazil, the Eastern Indies....²⁹

However, the concrete application of this enthusiasm for expansive and comparative studies of Livorno took several decades to materialize. The 1978 conference, *Livorno e il*

²⁸ Fernand Braudel and Ruggiero Romano, *Navires et marchandises à l'entrée du port de Livourne (1547-1611)* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1951).

²⁹ "On s'aperçoit enfin, une fois de plus, qu'il n'y a jamais d'histoire locale pure, bien délimitée. Découverte sans surprise, s'agissant d'un port! Livourne, au XVIème siècle, met constamment en cause toute l'économie de la Toscane et de l'Italie, toute la Méditerranée, et, par delà la Méditerranée, les jeunes et puissants pays du Nord, voire les océans lointains. Les documents livournais sur le mouvement des navires nous introduisent forcément dans l'histoire instable des routes et des transports. On est donc obligé, sans arrêt—mais non sans peine—de sortir du cadre de l'histoire livournaise et toscane, ou même italienne, et de faire maints voyages, pour citer quelques cas extrêmes, jusqu'en Moscovie, au Brésil, aux Indes Orientales...." Ibid., 12.

Mediterraneo nell' età medicea, and 1980 exhibition, “Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici,” helped to galvanize international interest in Livorno’s social and economic history.³⁰

During the 1980s and 1990s, Italian and French scholars made great strides in examining Livorno’s multiculturalism and economic prominence. Italian scholars including Dario Matteoni began the Herculean effort of reconstructing Livorno’s urban and architectural history, and in 1993 the journal dedicated to Livorno’s history, *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, launched with a more rigorous scholarly mission. The social and cultural history of Livorno’s diverse religious and national groups came under increased scrutiny, in contributions including Renzo Toaff’s magisterial examination of the Jewish nation, Jean-Pierre Filippini’s three-volume analysis of the economic development of the free port, and Marie-Christine Engels’ work on Livorno’s Flemish community.³¹ A plethora of recent publications testify to growing interest in the port, including Lucia Frattarelli Fischer’s study of Livorno’s Jewish community (*Vivere Fuori dal Ghetto*, 2008) and the volume edited by Adriano Prosperi, *Livorno 1606-1806: luogo di incontro tra popoli e culture*. Francesca Trivellato’s examination of the networks of trust amongst Livorno’s

³⁰ Giuseppe Gino Guarnieri, *Da Porto Pisano a Livorno città, attraverso le tappe della storia e della evoluzione geografica: Studio storico-critico* (Pisa: Giardini, 1967); *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea, Atti del convegno* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978); *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980).

³¹ Renzo Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591-1700)* (Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 1990); Jean Pierre Filippini, *Il porto di Livorno e la Toscana (1676-1814)*, 3 Vols. (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998); Marie-Christine Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: the "Flemish" Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997).

Sephardic Jewish trading Diaspora (*Familiarity of Strangers*, 2009) has been particularly influential in shaping recent debates on Livorno.³²

Although Livorno's demographic growth and social composition was *sui generis* in the seventeenth century Catholic Mediterranean, the multiculturalism of Livorno emerged fairly recently as a topic of international scholarly interest. Anglophone and specifically American scholars virtually ignored Livorno until very recently and advancements in the port's economic and social history remain largely divorced from the analysis of cultural historians. Although Livorno's Sephardim did not achieve the cultural and economic prominence of their peers in Amsterdam or London, some scholars take at face value the early modern criticism of the port as a provincial backwater. In Jonathan Israel's otherwise exceptional book, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550-1750*, he offers a rather damning cultural dismissal of Livorno's Jewish community:

It is true that ... in Livorno they [Jews] were never subjected to it [a ghetto]. But Livorno, for all its centrality in commerce during the seventeenth century, was a medium-sized, rather isolated town, many of whose Christian residents were in fact foreign Protestants. In any case, the main Jewish language in Livorno was Portuguese not Italian. Culturally, Livorno can in some respects be said to have been the ghetto of Tuscany.³³

However, by the late sixteenth century Livorno joined the ranks of other pluralistic port cities such as Amsterdam, Venice, and Istanbul in offering alternative models for managing a heterogeneous polity in an economically lucrative manner.

³² Paolo Castignoli, Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, and Maria Lia Papi (eds), *Livorno dagli archivi alla città: Studi di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 2001); Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2008); Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*; Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Livorno, 1606-1806: luogo di incontro tra popoli e culture* (Torino U. Allemandi, 2009).

³³ Jonathan Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 73 and 113.

Although dissenters harshly criticized the negative consequences of Livorno's free port policies, politicians, merchants, and lawmakers took notice of the port's continued success. Although Livorno's religious pluralism did not reflect the ideal form of toleration later theorized by Enlightenment philosophes, the Medici policies in Livorno did have ramifications beyond Tuscan soil. Amidst the furious debates in England that preceded the 1689 Act of Toleration, the Englishman and Whig propagandist William Petyt evoked the case of Livorno (Leghorn) as evidence why selective toleration should be considered a reason of state. In his treatise *Britannia Languens, or, A discourse of trade* from 1680, Petyt argued that the British economy needed to integrate foreigners and religious minorities for the sake of economic prosperity. In this discussion, Livorno's protection for Jews was cited as a touchstone that illustrated the positive correlation between prosperity and toleration.³⁴

Not long ago we might observe the policies of the great French King and the great Duke of Tuscany curiously Angling for the Jews; for whom the French King had made Marseilles a free port (which was about 12 years since) the Jews planted at Leghorn, induced by an offer of protection at Marseilles, and the sweeter situation of that place, resolved to transplant, which the Great Duke discovering, applied his utmost endeavors to prevent it; which he did by making an edict, that if any Christian bought a Jews house, it should be forfeit. In England a Jew cannot buy a house. I am no advocate for Dissenters or Jews, but for the *Common Interest* of England, by which that of the Church of England must stand or fall. And now speaking of that which concerns Religion, there occur to my memory two plain Texts of Scripture, one is, that of two evils we are to choose the least, and another that a Kingdom divided cannot stand.³⁵

³⁴ Andrew Murphy contends that the arguments presented in favor of tolerance in England during the 1680s were largely derivative of ideas already posited during the 1640s. Andrew Murphy, *Conscience and Community: Revisiting Toleration and Religious Dissent in Early Modern England and America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2001).

³⁵ William Petyt, *Britannia Languens, or, A discourse of trade shewing the grounds and reasons of the increase and decay of land-rents, national wealth and strength: with application to the late and present state and condition of England, France, and the United Provinces* (London: Dring, 1680), 366.

Although the mercantile and political capital of the Medici dynasty waned by the early eighteenth century, the free port of Livorno remained a touchstone for pan-European discourses concerning the potential dangers and benefits of economically motivated religious toleration and its role in promoting foreign trade.

Whereas previous studies have focused on Livorno's Jewish Sephardim and the other mercantile nations in isolation, this dissertation uses a more inclusive and comparative approach to examine both the theory and practices of religious pluralism among the elites and the non-elites who comprised Livorno's cosmopolitan society. From the regime's negotiations with Livorno's Sephardic Jewish elite to the port's management of Turkish and North African Muslim galley slaves, this study contextualizes the Medici's approach to religious pluralism within the macro dynamics of global trade and the micro-dynamics of urban history. Ultimately, this dissertation demonstrates how Livorno functioned as physical and conceptual frontier in which early modern individuals began to reconsider the role that foreigners and religious minorities could play within a post-Tridentine Catholic state.

II. FRONTIERS OF TOLERATION: EUROPE, THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND CATHOLIC ITALY

Revisionist historians of medieval and Early Modern Europe struggle against the pervasive Whig teleology that positions the “rise” of religious toleration within a Eurocentric model of linear progression. According to the logic of this narrative, western culture fundamentally transformed between the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries from a medieval persecuting society driven by superstition and religious zealotry into a more Enlightened, rational, and civilized society that valued tolerance as a political imperative and a personal virtue. As epitomized by Perez Zagorin’s *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (2001), the origins of Europe’s metamorphosis is often traced to the intellectual developments of Renaissance humanists, whose approach to critical textual analysis facilitated the theological divergences of Reformation thinkers. Although most Reformation leaders proved as intolerant of religious deviancy as the Catholic Church, intellectual historians argue that the sustained trauma and political instability of Europe’s Religious Wars catalyzed opinion amongst a select group of theologians, philosophers, and political thinkers who began to develop theories advocating for the salutatory benefits of religious toleration.¹

When measured through the production of learned treatises in early modern Basel, London, and Amsterdam, Whig historiography can easily identify the intellectual “champions” of religious toleration within a history of changing mentalities. While this honorable lineage begins with the Dutch Catholic humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam’s

¹ Perez Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Zagorin worked in a similar vein as Joseph Lecler, *Histoire de la Tolérance au siècle de la Réforme* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1955).

(1466-1536) advocacy for temperate doctrinal debate and the mild treatment of heretics, it progresses with the relativistic thinking of the Reformed Frenchman, Sebastian Castellio (1515-1563), the skepticism of the French Catholic Michel de Montaigne (1533-92), and the rationalism of the Dutch Jew of Sephardic origin, Baruch Spinoza (1632-1677).² The theorization of toleration crescendos in the late seventeenth century in the work of the French Calvinist Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) and the English Protestant John Locke (1632-1704) and reaches its full apogee in the deism of Enlightenment thinkers whose conceptualization of “universal religious toleration” was articulated in the polemic writing of Voltaire (1649-1778).

Although the reified Enlightenment notion of “universal” tolerance remains pervasive within the ontological framework of religious toleration, social and cultural historians are weary of analysis that remains too “firmly in the grasp of the intellectual historians.”³ While the genealogy of ideas was profoundly important for the development of European political thought, scholars have demonstrated that theological, political, and legal discourses on toleration were written with divergent goals that were specific to the conditions of their socio-political contexts.⁴ However, by linking religious toleration

² John Christian Laursen, “Spinoza on Toleration: Arming the State and Reining in the Magistrate,” in Cary Nederman and John Christian Laursen (eds), *Difference and Dissent: Theories of Toleration in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1996), 185-204.

³ Heiko Oberman, “The Travail of Tolerance: Containing Chaos in Early Modern Europe”, in Ole Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2002), 13-31.

⁴ Steve Clarke, Russell Powell, and Julian Savulescu (eds), *Religion, Intolerance, and Conflict: A Scientific and Conceptual Investigation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967); Hebert Butterfield, “Toleration in Early Modern Times,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 38 (1977): 573-84; Nicolas Piqué and Ghislaine Waterlot (eds), *Tolérance et Réforme: Eléments pour une généalogie du concept de tolérance* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1999); Gerson Moreno-Riaño, “Review: The Roots of Tolerance,” *The Review of Politics* 65, No. 1 (Winter 2003): 111-

directly with the rise of secularism, the triumphalist Whig narrative tends to promote a number of historical distortions and omissions.

By positing a developmental model of progress in which societies can be judged according to degrees of toleration, Whig histories fail to recognize that political unity, and not toleration, was typically the end goal for most early modern regimes. Although King Henry IV's 1598 Edict of Nantes and Article 13 of the 1579 Union of Utrecht were both examples of legislation aimed at curbing confessional violence by permitting a degree of religious toleration, the two acts of legislation had fundamentally different goals and outcomes. Whereas the Edict of Nantes signaled a temporary halt to the French Wars of Religion between Catholics and Huguenots, the Union of Utrecht promised individual freedom of conscience to the diverse confessional groups within of the rebellious United Provinces. While the hypothesis that in Protestant countries "toleration tended to increase in proportion to the decrease in dogmatic belief" has some validity, the wholesale adoption of this supposition leads to the conflation of theories of religious toleration with advocacy for religious freedom.⁵ Moreover, Whig teleology dismisses Europe's temporary and unofficial pauses in religious persecution as irrelevant or derivative. Most problematically, the presentism of the Whig narrative implies that more 'advanced' societies will display more tolerant aptitudes towards religious minorities. While the genocide and anti-Semitism of twentieth century Europe reveals how this logic

129; On tolerance and the liberal tradition see Andrew R. Murphy, "Tolerance, Toleration, and the Liberal Tradition," *Polity* 29, no. 4 (1997): 593-623; for a critique of 'pure tolerance' as an ineffectual or harmful guiding principle for contemporary America, see Robert Paul Wolf, Barrington Moore, and Herbert Marcuse, *A Critique of Pure Tolerance* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965); for a classification of five regimes of tolerance see Michael Waltzer, *On Toleration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997).

⁵ Henry Kamen, *The Rise of Toleration*, 224, 240. Cited by Oberman, "The Travail of Tolerance," 13.

is grossly overly simplistic, such reasoning also fails to account for religiously tolerant societies that existed in Europe and the Mediterranean prior to and independent from the rise of Enlightenment ideas.

While a complete historiographical survey of the intellectual, theological, and socio-political origins of religious toleration in Europe and the Mediterranean is beyond the purview of this study, this chapter outlines the foundations of medieval Europe's 'persecuting society' and examines how political and socio-economic conditions exacerbated or tempered the efforts of ecclesiastical and secular leaders to identify and persecute religious deviancy. Part one of this chapter places the intellectual history of Christian toleration in dialogue with the social and political tactics of exclusion in Europe to demonstrate how the justifications for religious tolerance existed in a dialectical relationship with rationalizations for persecution. While the impetus towards persecution derived from a variety of theological, political, economic motivations, the practice and theorization of religious toleration likewise encompassed not only philosophical reflections but also the logic of political expediency and pragmatic economic gain.

While xenophobia and religious persecution persisted throughout the early modern period, under certain conditions the lure of financial profit proved even stronger. From Venice to Amsterdam, Cadiz to Istanbul, the global trade networks of the early modern world converged in the harbors and marketplaces of port cities, where economic vitality was measured by the steady influx of foreign products, merchants, sailors, and slaves. Although visiting and resident foreigners contributed to the dynamism of early modern cities, their heterogeneous linguistic, political, and religious allegiances

challenged the religious and administrative machineries of Catholic, Protestant and Muslim regimes alike. Nonetheless, as trade routes expanded across the Mediterranean and into the Indian Ocean, the interdependency of European and Levantine commercial networks obligated cooperation between peoples officially considered political enemies, religious infidels, or social pariahs. Whereas the Spanish monarchs became increasingly resolute in imposing Catholic homogeneity in their territories through the forcible conversion and expulsion of Jews (1492) and *Moriscos* (1609), rulers elsewhere began using the logic of economic pragmatism to reevaluate the viability of governing a religiously pluralistic state. Port cities and commercial centers in particular emerged as exceptional frontiers of toleration within the increasingly globalized economy of the early modern world.⁶

Historians of Europe often trace the pragmatic practice of religious toleration to the socio-economic and political developments of Protestant countries, exemplified by the freedom of consciousness permitted in Calvinist Amsterdam during the seventeenth-century Golden Age of the Dutch Republic.⁷ On the other hand, Mediterranean scholars emphasize the inclusivity of the pluralistic Ottoman Empire, where non-Muslim Jewish and Christian subjects were tolerated and politically integrated according to the *millet*

⁶ For an intriguing but overly simplistic analysis of ethnic and religious tension in early modern Amsterdam, Genoa, and Ottoman Constantinople that examines the role that merchant oligarchies played in promoting tolerance, see Barrington Moore, Jr., "Ethnic and Religious Hostilities in Early Modern Port Cities," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 14, No. 4 (Summer, 2001): 687-727.

⁷ Revisionist historians have increasingly questioned the notion of Dutch tolerance. Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan Israel, and G.H. M. Posthumus Meyjes (eds), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: Brill, 1997); R. Po-chia Hsia and Henk F. K. van Nierop (eds), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Jonathan Israel, *Empires and Entrepôts: the Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy, and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London: Hambledon Press, 1990); Yosef Kaplan, (ed.), *The Dutch Intersection: the Jews and the Netherlands in Modern History* (Leiden: Brill, 2007).

system based on the Ottoman interpretation of the Qur'anic principle of *dhimmi*.⁸ By surveying the formulation and practical limitations placed on religious toleration in early modern Europe and the Ottoman Empire, part two of this chapter reveals a number of structural similarities governing different forms of early modern toleration.

Finally, part three of this chapter examines a particular logic within Catholic Italian statecraft wherein certain religious minorities were tolerated when their presence served larger economic or diplomatic reasons of state, or *ragion di stato*. While the protections offered to Jewish and Levantine merchants in the cities of Ferrara, Ancona, and Venice offer fruitful points for comparison, this dissertation argues that the policies of enlightened self-interest pursued by the Medici Duchy in the Tuscan port of seventeenth-century Livorno epitomized the potential challenges and rewards of pragmatic Catholic toleration. However, before examining the mechanics of religious pluralism in Livorno, one must contextualize the Medicean experiment within the long tradition of theological, political, and economic arguments that were used throughout Europe and the Mediterranean to justify the persecution and toleration of religious minorities.

A Persecuting Society

Although New Testament scriptures emphasize Christ's benevolence towards non-believers, sinners, and enemies, the persecution of individuals based wholly on dogmatic religious belief was a persistent feature of Christian political rule after its

⁸ Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: Vol I The Central Lands* (London: Holmes & Meier, 1982), 69-88; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

formalization under Constantine in the fourth century C.E.⁹ While social injustice and the political marginalization of Jews were endemic features of ancient Roman culture, pluralistic beliefs were generally permitted in the polytheistic society as long as religious practices were compatible with the cult of the Emperor.¹⁰ Though debate over the nature of Roman persecution of Christians and Jews continues, historians of medieval and Early Modern Christendom recognize Jonathan Ebel's ironic observation that, "the religion that names its central figure 'Prince of Peace' has long had a complicated relationship with violence."¹¹

Despite the political marginalization of the early Christian church, the theological justification for the punishment of heretics and non-believers was well established by the mid-fourth century. The Christian treatment of errant heretics was based on divergent interpretations of Christian scripture, including Paul's epistle to Titus (Titus 3, 10-11) in

⁹ Biblical scholars debate whether there is anti-Judaic sentiment in the New Testament. Some interpret the Gospel of John as being outwardly antagonistic towards Jews. David Rokeah, *Justin Martyr and the Jews* (Leiden: Brill Publishers, 2001); Robert Louis Wilken, *John Chrysostom and the Jews: Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

¹⁰ L. Rutgers notes that in the first century B.C.E. Roman magistrates issued a series of ad hoc decrees, or *senatus consulta*, to individual Greek cities that guaranteed the Jews' ability to worship freely and live undisturbed. However, these decrees did not constitute a consistent Jewish policy and the annals of Roman history are sprinkled with the sporadic expulsion of Jews from Rome (alongside astrologers and worshipers of Isis). Nonetheless, Rutgers contends that religious orthodoxy was secondary to political concerns, and Rome's discriminatory policies towards minority groups were engineered as pragmatic political solutions to maintain civil order, particularly given the rebellious nature of the Empire's Jewish subjects. Jews were expelled from Rome under Tiberius in 19 C.E., but debate over the motivation for this expulsion continues. Some scholars suggest that the Jews had been too successful with proselytizing, and others claim it was for political reasons, disorderly conduct, and to help quell the corn shortages. Leonard Victor Rutgers, "Roman Policy Towards the Jews: Expulsions from the City of Rome during the First Century C.E.," *Classical Antiquity* 13, no. 1 (1994): 56-74; Charles King, "The Organization of Roman Religious Beliefs," *Classical Antiquity* 22, no. 2 (2003): 275-312; James Westfall Thompson, "The Alleged Persecution of the Christians at Lyons in 177," *The American Journal of Theology* 16, no. 3 (1912): 359-384; J. E. A. Crake, "Early Christians and Roman Law," *Phoenix* 19, no. 1 (1965): 61-70.

¹¹ Jonathan Ebel, "Christianity and Violence," in Andrew Murphy (ed.), *The Blackwell Companion to Religion and Violence* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2011), 150.

which he wrote, “A man that is an heretick (*hereticum hominem*) after the first and second admonition reject; knowing that he that is such is subverted, and sinneth, being condemned of himself.”¹² Paul’s epistle to the Romans (Romans 16:17) issued another stern warning for Christians to shun divisive individuals, “Now I beseech you brethren, mark them who cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine ye have learned, and avoid them.” Although the scriptural message of avoidance was first manifested through the excommunication of heretics from the early church, over the course of the late antique and medieval period it was transformed into a policy of active persecution.

Although the church father Tertullian asserted that it was against the nature of religion to force belief, he also used the term heresy, derived from the Greek *hairetikos* meaning choice, to describe individuals who knew divine truth but willingly chose to ignore it. Unlike unbelievers, Tertullian believed that heretics should be punished for their persistent and malicious doctrinal errors that threatened the spiritual health of the church. Likewise, St. Augustine articulated that heretics should be encouraged to ponder their sin by being “shaken up in a beneficial way” though physical or material inconveniences.¹³ In this formulation, religious coercion was a form of Christian kindness because, as Augustine rhetorically asked, “What death is worse for the soul than the freedom to err? ... It is better to love with severity than to deceive with indulgence.”¹⁴

¹² Robert Ian Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society, Second Edition* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2007), 11-13.

¹³ Cited by Benjamin Kaplan, *Divided by Faith, Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007), 26.

¹⁴ Quoted by Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 2.

The thirteenth century scholastic Thomas Aquinas favored liberality in the treatment of Jews and non-believers but endorsed the use of violence in the punishment of heretics. In justifying the use of capital punishment for heresy Aquinas quoted the church father Jerome as saying “cut off the decayed flesh, expel the mangy sheep from the fold, lest the whole house, the whole paste, the whole body, the whole flock perish rot, die.”¹⁵ Indeed, within the logic of Christian pastoral theology, the persecution of sinners and heretics was considered a pious action deemed necessary to maintain the spiritual health of the church. Likewise, early Christian apologists denounced Jews as guilty of Christ’s murder, and St. Augustine explicitly condoned the use of force to persuade Jews’ conversion to Christianity.¹⁶ By articulating the Jews’ theological role as a legitimate but subservient witness to the Christian revelation, St. Augustine sanctioned the use of humiliating and discriminating anti-Jewish practices.¹⁷ Historian Alexandra Walsham has described how of St. Augustine’s notion of “charitable hatred” was pervasive within medieval and Early Modern Europe.¹⁸

However, as R. I. Moore has argued, historians cannot assume that the impetus for religious persecution was inherent to medieval society or that it emanated solely from the ideas of church fathers and ecclesiastical authorities. Given medieval Europe’s mix of

¹⁵ Quoted by B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 28.

¹⁶ These include Justin Martyr’s *Dialogue with Trypho* and John Chrysostom’s fourth-century work, *Eight Homilies Against the Jews*. See A. H. Armstrong, “The Way and the Ways: Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in the Fourth Century A.D,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 38, no. 1 (1984): 1-17.

¹⁷ Ronald Christenson, “The Political Theory of Persecution: Augustine and Hobbes,” *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 12, no. 3 (1968): 419-438.

¹⁸ Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*, 2.

Roman and Ecclesiastical law, religious orthodoxy was considered essential to maintaining social and political order, and secular rulers drew upon theological justifications for persecution to serve their own economic and political interests. The inferior legal status afforded to Jews in the Roman Empire was reinforced under Emperor Constantine; a few centuries later, Emperor Justinian introduced similar legislation to politically disenfranchise Christian schismatics. Although Christian Europe experienced centuries of relative doctrinal laxity, by the eleventh century heresy had been redefined as a crime punishable by death.

The first recorded burning of condemned heretics in the Latin West occurred in Orléans in 1022. Although medieval chronicles of this purge sensationalized the diabolical practices of the accused individuals, the doctrinal deviations that justified these executions were largely independent from the heretical ideas that circulated in learned discourses or popular movements. Rather, historians have exposed how the affair originated in the political intrigues of the court.¹⁹ Nonetheless, the systematic persecution of religious deviance became increasingly widespread in Europe during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.²⁰ For ecclesiastical and secular leaders alike, the enforcement of religious orthodoxy was considered a moral duty and a divinely ordained obligation.

¹⁹ Edward Peters (ed. and trans.), "Paul of St. Père de Chartres: Heretics at Orléans, 1022," in *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 66-71.

²⁰ R. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society*; Robert Moore, *Origins of European Dissent* (London: Allen Lane, 1977); Walter Wakefield and Austin Evans (translators), *Heresies of the High Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991); Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation* (Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2002).

By the late twelfth century, the torture and capital punishment of witches and heretics was an increasingly routine occurrence. In 1179, the third Lateran Council made the first formal declaration against heresy. Soon thereafter, Episcopal and Papal Inquisitors organized regular tribunals to identify and eradicate popular heresies that proliferated amongst Cathars and Waldensians in Southern France and Northern Italy. In 1095, Pope Urban II called the first Holy Crusade, which launched Christendom's sustained military efforts to capture Jerusalem and the Holy Lands from the control of Muslim 'infidels.' While the dominant rhetoric of Crusade was inextricably linked with the externalized threat of Muslim in the Holy Land, the thirteenth century Pope Innocent III applied the concept of Crusade to the struggle against heresy within Christendom. The military campaigns of the Albigensian Crusade (1209-1225) effectively silenced the popular heretical movements that had spread in the Languedoc region of France. In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council codified punishments for heretics and for those who harbored them. However, by the fifteenth century the medieval inquisition was challenged by the growth of new popular heresies including the English Lollards and the Czech Hussites. Efforts to suppress these heretical movements resulted in the execution of John Badby (1410), Jan Hus (1415), Jerome of Prague (1416), and others.²¹

Meanwhile, the ongoing Crusades in the Holy Land fueled popular anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim sentiment throughout Europe. As angry mobs in England and elsewhere attacked Jews and accused them of blood libel, Christian knights en route to the Levant

²¹ Bernard Hamilton, *The Medieval Inquisition* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1981).

participated in spontaneous acts of anti-Jewish violence.²² Secular and ecclesiastical leaders were often complicit in these pogroms. Moreover, legislation throughout Europe restricted Jews from holding public office and prevented them from owning land or securely transmitting their inheritance. These prohibitions made European Jews especially vulnerable to the economic exploitation of authorities that threatened them with expulsion and burdened them with arbitrary taxation and property confiscation. King Philip August first expelled the Jewish population from France in 1182. However, since the monarch was desperately in need of money he allowed Jews to pay re-entry taxes in order to be readmitted into France. At first, Jews returning to France were forbidden to practice of money lending; however, within a few years the king's reprieve proved temporary and all Jews were expelled from France for a second time.

Monarchs and feudal lords throughout Europe participated in the cyclical spoliation of Jewish property through expulsions, additional taxes, and paid protection or readmission. Moreover, since Jews were restricted from guild membership and prohibited from practicing certain crafts, they were typically forced into less honorable trades like money lending. This reinforced the popular resentment of Jews who were perceived as embodying the negative stereotype of avaricious 'usurers.' The inevitability of this predicament was described in the words of the Jewish interlocutor from Peter Abelard's twelfth century ethical dialogue (c. 1125-26), entitled *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum, et Christianum*, or *The Dialogue of a Philosopher with a Jew and a Christian*:

²² David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996).

Confined and constructed in this way as if the world had conspired against us alone it is a wonder that we are allowed to live. We are allowed to possess neither fields nor vineyards nor any landed estates because there is no-one who can protect them for us from open or covert attack. Consequently the principal gain that is left for us is that we sustain our miserable lives here by lending money at interest to strangers. But this just makes us more hateful to those who think they are being oppressed by it.²³

In 1215, the Fourth Lateran Council endorsed the social ostracization and legal disenfranchisement of Jews and Muslims. Increasingly, Jews in Europe were perceived as a morally corrupting force for Christian society and local laws required them to wear distinctive dress and live in segregated neighborhoods. In 1240, mounting anti-Jewish sentiment prompted Pope Gregory IX to burn copies of the Talmud in Paris. In 1290, King Edward I issued an edict that expelled Jews from England en masse. Despite the physical absence of Jews in many parts of medieval Europe and England, anti-Jewish sentiments continued to simmer.²⁴

Medieval *Tolerantia*

Nonetheless, revisionist scholarship has dismantled any sense of uniformity within Europe's 'persecuting society.' As historians John Nederman and Cary Laurensen argue, medieval theology contained theories of Christian toleration and the papal impetus towards religious persecution was often tempered by decrees urging non-violence.²⁵ For

²³ Peter Abelard, *Collationes*, quoted by R. Moore, *Formation of a Persecuting Society*, 80.

²⁴ Eliane Glaser, *Judaism without Jews: Philosemitism and Christian Polemic in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); David S. Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Nadia Kushner and Tony Valman (eds), *Philosemitism, Antisemitism and 'the Jews': Perspectives from the Middle Ages to the Twentieth Century* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004).

²⁵ John Christian Laursen and Cary Nederman (eds), *Beyond the Persecuting Society: Religious Toleration Before the Enlightenment* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998); Cary Nederman and

example, although Pope Gregory the Great was intent on converting the Jews, he nonetheless preached against physically harming them in a letter to the Bishop of Naples from 598. In circa 1120, Pope Calixtus III issued the first formal papal protection for Jews in the bull *Sicut Iudaeis*. As a direct response to the popular anti-Jewish violence that erupted during the Crusades, *Sicut Iudaeis* threatened excommunication for Christians who unlawfully confiscated Jewish property. Further, it forbade Christians from forcibly converting Jews to Christianity and prohibited them from disturbing Jewish cemeteries or religious festivals. Although basic protections for Jews in Europe were affirmed repeatedly in papal bulls between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries, these decrees were largely ineffective at suppressing popular anti-Jewish resentment, a point epitomized by Pope Clement VI's 1348 bull *Quamvis Perfidiam* which tried unsuccessfully to dispel the superstition that Jews were responsible for causing the Black Plague by poisoning the wells.

Despite the papacy's sporadic leniency towards religious deviants and Jews, scholars including István Bejczy have emphasized the distance separating the medieval concept of *tolerantia* from the post-Enlightenment understanding of religious toleration. *Tolerantia* was derived from the Latin verb *tolerare*, meaning to bear or suffer through with conditional acceptance or non-interference. In the logic of medieval Christendom it was the church's prerogative to display *tolerantia*, or reluctant indulgence, towards lesser

John-Christian Laursen (eds), *Difference and Dissent: Theories of Toleration in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*; Cary Nederman, "Tolerance and Community: A Medieval Communal Functionalist Argument for Religious Toleration," *The Journal of Politics* 56, No. 4 (1994): 901-918; Jonathan M. Elukin, *Living Together, Living Apart: Rethinking Jewish-Christian Relations in the Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

sins in order to prevent the faithful from committing even greater sins.²⁶ For example, the sin of prostitution was permitted in order to avoid the graver sins of sodomy or adultery amongst virtuous women. Similarly, Christian rulers displayed *tolerantia* towards Jewish moneylenders in order to prevent Christians from committing the sin of usury. Thus, while the *tolerantia* of ecclesiastical or secular leaders temporarily moderated some of the most violent forms of religious persecution, toleration in medieval Europe was generally perceived as a temporary, revocable, and morally uncomfortable measure taken unilaterally by authorities in response to circumstantial necessity. Since the church maintained that unorthodox beliefs or actions were inherently sinful, medieval *tolerantia* was devoid of positive moralistic associations and it reinforced the hegemonic normativity of Catholic orthodoxy. However, the theoretical and practical limits of *tolerantia* underwent a reevaluation in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as the scale of religious conflict escalated exponentially throughout Europe and the Mediterranean.

Catholic Consolidation in Early Modern Spain and Portugal

While Jews were expelled from France and England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, anti-Jewish legislation worsened significantly during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in the Catholic territories of Spain and Portugal. Under the Spanish monarchs Queen Isabella I of Castile and King Ferdinand II of Aragon, the Spanish *Reconquista*'s (711-1492) ongoing military battles to defeat the Muslim kingdoms of southern Iberia finally concluded in 1492 with the surrender of Emir Muhammad XII's kingdom in Granada. Although the Muslim rulers of Al-Andalus had hosted a pluralistic population

²⁶ István Bejczy, "Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58, no. 3 (1997): 365-84.

comprised of Christians, Jews, and Muslims under the relatively tolerant conditions of the Iberian *convivencia* (786-1492), Catholic hegemony in Spain was marked by the emphatic rejection of religious heterogeneity.²⁷

The foundation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478 galvanized efforts to impose Catholic uniformity throughout the Iberian realm. By 1481, the Spanish monarchs presided over the first public execution of heretics and suspected Judaizers at an *auto-da-fé* in the city of Seville. In 1492, all Iberian Jews were expelled or forced converted to Catholicism.²⁸ Although the conquered Muslims of Al-Andalus were initially offered religious concessions as part of the 1492 surrender, by 1502 Queen Isabella rescinded the toleration of Islam in Castile. In 1526, King Charles V similarly forbade Islam in the kingdom of Aragon. The founding of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1532 hastened the mass resettlement of Sephardic Jewish and Muslim refugees throughout North Africa, Northern Europe, and the Levant. Even Jewish and Muslim subjects of Spain who had converted to Catholicism (*marranos* and *moriscos*) faced discrimination due to the introduction of blood purity laws, or *limpieza de sangre*, which distinguished the rights and privileges of ‘original’ Iberian Christians from the ‘New Christians’ who were viewed

²⁷ Jonathan Ray, "Beyond Tolerance and Persecution: Reassessing Our Approach to Medieval "Convivencia", *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 2 (2005): 1-18; Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 2002); Vivian Mann, Thomas Glick, and Jerrilyn Dodds (eds), *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain* (New York: G. Braziller, 1992); Chris Lowney, *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Sidney Griffith, *The Church in the Shadow of the Mosque: Christians and Muslims in the World of Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); Brian A. Catlos, *The Victors and the Vanquished: Christians and Muslims of Catalonia and Aragon, 1050-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

²⁸ Jonathan Ray, *After Expulsion: 1492 and the Making of Sephardic Jewry* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

with suspicion. Although the Spanish crown attempted to forcibly assimilate Iberian *moriscos* and *gitanos* by suppressing their native languages, styles of dress, and social customs, by 1609 these efforts were deemed a failure. As a result, from 1609 to 1614, King Phillip III embarked on a virtual ethnic cleansing of Spain through a systematic campaign encourage the departure of *moriscos* for North Africa.²⁹

Catholic League and the Holy Wars

A similar Catholic zealotry was expressed in the Crusading rhetoric of papal and secular leaders who formed military alliances to fight the encroaching power of the Muslim Ottoman Empire. The 1453 conquest of Constantinople permanently reconfigured the territorial boundaries of Europe and Ottoman military momentum and hastened the conquest of Christian-held territories including Rhodes (1522), Tripoli (1551), Cyprus (1571), and Crete (1669).³⁰ Meanwhile, Ottoman land invasions menaced eastern European territories and by the late seventeenth century the Sultan's janissaries had arrived at the doorstep of central Europe. Fighting between the Ottoman and European Armies culminated with the siege of Vienna in 1683 and the battle of Buda in 1686, when the joint efforts of the Catholic Holy League finally managed to halt the Ottoman land advance. Although the Ottoman Empire proved relatively tolerant of their non-Muslim subject populations, these military conflicts produced a Diaspora of Greek

²⁹ The Spanish crown sought to repress cultural characteristics of the *moriscos* that had nothing directly to do with religion. The first blood purity laws were enacted as early as 1449 in Toledo. Lu Ann Homza, (ed. and trans.), *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publication, 2006).

³⁰ The territorial losses of Christian states included Rhodes (1522), Tripoli (1551), Cyprus (Famagusta, 1571), and Crete (Candia, 1669). European powers were plagued by internal discord that resulted in the weak and short-lived alliance of the Holy League (1571). Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 9; Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, the Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World* (New York: Random House, 2008).

and Slavic refugees, many of whom resettled in continental Europe.

The rhetoric of Catholic Crusade expressed Europe's struggle against the Ottomans in stark binary terms that pitted the future of Christendom against the threat of infidel invasions. In practice, however, intermittent peace treaties between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic weakened the military alliance of the Catholic Holy League. In 1532, Catholic France aligned itself militarily with the Ottoman Empire and over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Protestant regimes including England and the Dutch Republic negotiated trade and non-aggression treaties with the Ottoman Sultans. Although diplomatic intrigues reveal how the Hapsburgs and the Tuscan Grand Duchy sought to achieve similar agreements with the Ottomans, the public rhetoric of the papacy, Spain, and the Tuscan Duchy was resolute in their sponsorship of the Catholic Crusade.

The pan-European chivalric order known as the Knights Hospitaller Order of St. John had carried on the military mission of the medieval Crusades since the order's founding in the early eleventh century. Originally based in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the Order of the Knights Hospitaller was forced to relocate their operations to the island of Rhodes after Jerusalem fell to Saracen armies in 1291. However, the Ottoman capture of Rhodes in 1522 forced the Christian knights to relocate their base of operations yet again. After several years of wandering, in 1530, Emperor Charles V gave the Order of St. John the island of Malta off of the coast of North Africa to serve as their naval base. The consolidated naval forces of the Knights of Malta were a formidable contribution to Europe's ongoing naval battles against the Ottoman Empire.

In 1561, the Tuscan Duke Cosimo I founded the chivalric naval Order of St. Stephen, modeled after the Knights of St. John of Malta. As expressed in Pope Pius IV's 1562 Papal Bull, the Knights of St. Stephen were dedicated, "to the praise of God, to the glory and defense of the Catholic faith, and to the guardianship and protection of the Mediterranean Sea from infidels."³¹ Although the Knights of St. Stephen participated in several large-scale military endeavors, following the 1571 Battle of Lepanto the Order was more commonly engaged in the smaller scale perpetual harassment of Ottoman ships.³² The ongoing naval skirmishes of the Order of St. Stephen earned the Tuscan Duke papal accolades and supplied his duchy with a steady stream of war trophies and booty in the form of money, merchandise, and Turkish and Moorish slaves.³³

Italy and the Catholic Reformation

Although Jews were permitted to reside in many Italian territories throughout the medieval period, they were typically barred from owning property, prohibited from pursuing certain professions, and required to pay additional taxes and wear identifying insignia.³⁴ Moreover, the legality of the Jewish presence was dependent upon the

³¹"ad Dei laudem, gloriam ac fidei catholicae defensionem, marisque Mediterranei ab infidelibus custodiam et tuitionem..." Papal Bull transcribed by Lorenzo Cantini, *Legislazione toscana: raccolta e illustrata da Lorenzo Cantini (1532-1775)*, Vol. 4 (Firenze: Albizzini, 1802), 304-305.

³² The Order of St. Stephen played a relatively minor role in supporting the papal fleet at Lepanto in 1571 due to the Emperor's reluctance. Franco Angiolini, *I cavalieri e il principe: L'ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna* (Firenze: Edifir, 1996); Rodolfo Bernadini, *Le relazioni a stampa delle imprese della Marina Stefaniana* (Pontedera: Istituzione dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano, 2006); Rodolfo Bernadini, *L'Istituzione dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano: origine, sviluppo, attività* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2005), 1-11.

³³ See chapter five for discussion of the capture and ransoming of Turkish galley slaves.

³⁴ Jews were ordered to wear a yellow or red hat or a yellow badge. This tradition was a holdover from Islamic practice. Braude and Lewis, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 37-51.

precarious protection of local authorities that were responsible for negotiating the terms of their settlement charters. In the Venetian Republic, Jews had been obliged to maintain their residences on the mainland and were barred from permanently settling in the city of Venice. In 1516, the Jewish question in Venice was addressed in the form of an urban compromise after secular authorities mandated that Jews could tentatively reside within the commercial capital of Venice but determined that they would be required to live within a small island enclosure policed with locked gates and nightly curfews. [Fig. 2.1] The site of this island enclosure had originally served as an iron works factory and was known as the *ghetto*, a term which referred to the byproduct of metal casting. In subsequent decades, the Venetian term *ghetto* was used to describe all Jewish neighborhoods in Italy, particularly those of forced segregated urban enclosures.³⁵ In 1555, this urban policy of Jewish segregation was adopted by the post-Tridentine papacy to serve their evangelical efforts.

The dogmatism of the Roman Catholic Church reached a fever pitch during the sixteenth century in the wake of the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic reform efforts at the Council of Trent (1545-1563). In 1542, Pope Paul III founded the Congregation of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, which granted papal inquisitors the authority to prosecute and punish deviations from Catholic orthodoxy. Although the Roman Inquisition's recourse to the trial, torture, and imprisonment of heretics entailed no

³⁵ Benjamin Ravid, "The Establishment of the Ghetto Vecchio of Venice 1541," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, no. II (1975): 161-6; Benjamin Ravid, "The First Charter of the Jewish Merchants of Venice, 1589," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* I (1976): 187-222; Riccardo Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (Milano: Oscar Mondadori, 1995); Robert Davis and Benjamin Ravid (eds), *The Jews of Early Modern Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Brian Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice, 1550-1670* (Totowa: Barnes & Noble, 1983).

formal jurisdiction over Jews, the crime of apostasy, or false conversion, was considered a particularly grave offense. Although Pope Clement VII initially issued a pardon annulling the forced baptism of Portuguese Jews in the 1532 bull *Sempiterno Regi*, subsequent pontificates revoked this policy.³⁶ Consequently, apostatized *marrano* and *morisco* immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula were uniquely susceptible to the Roman Inquisition.

Papal policy in the mid-sixteenth century became more systematic in its efforts to root out heretical ideas while actively encouraging Jewish conversion using economic pressure and social humiliation. In 1543, Pope Paul III founded the *Casa dei Catecumeni*, or House of Catechumen, in Rome at the urging of Ignatius of Loyola. This institution added a new weapon to the arsenal of the Catholic Church by allowing the papacy to seclude and indoctrinate future converts while offering them moral and material incentives to abjure their Jewish or Muslim faith.³⁷ Often suspected of forcing conversion under psychological duress, it is not without irony that the *Casa dei Catecumeni* was partially financed through obligatory contributions from Roman synagogues.

The papacy assumed an even more aggressive approach to the treatment of Jews under Pope Paul IV. As outlined in the 1555 bull, *Cum Nimis Absurdum*, the papacy

³⁶ Cecil Roth, "Forced Baptisms in Italy: A Contribution to the History of Jewish Persecution," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 27, No. 2 (1936): 117-136; Marina Caffiero, *Battesimi forzati: storie di ebrei, cristiani, e convertiti nella Roma dei papi* (Rome: Viella, 2004).

³⁷ Although the *Casa dei Catecumeni* is more commonly recognized as an institution for the conversion of Jews, Wipertus Rudt De Collenberg has demonstrated that during the mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Muslims constituted roughly 42% of the institution's residents. On the conversion of Muslim slaves in Livorno see chapter five of this dissertation. Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, "Le baptême des musulmanes esclaves à Rome aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles," *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 101, no. 1 (1989): 9-181.

emulated the urban segregation of Venetian Jews by systematically imposing walled urban *ghettos* upon the Jewish populations in Rome and the Papal States.³⁸ Additional tactics of social and spiritual humiliation included the imposition of Jewish-specific taxes, the denial of Jewish property rights, the prohibition of Jews from engaging in certain professions, and the requirement that Jews and prostitutes wear identifying insignia. In addition, Jews in the Roman ghetto were forced to attend compulsory Catholic sermons as part of the evangelical mission of the post-Tridentine papacy. Many of these methods of discrimination had been implemented in a piecemeal fashion during the medieval period. In 1559, Pope Paul IV implemented the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, or the Index of Forbidden Books in an attempt to censor theological errors and morally offensive material from all printed books. The Talmud and other Jewish theological texts frequently included on the list of forbidden books were either banned outright or heavily edited by papal censors to remove heretical and blasphemous material.

The increasing severity of papal intolerance was mirrored in the policy decisions of secular rulers throughout Italy. In territories beyond the jurisdiction of the Papal States the papacy was dependent upon the compliance of secular rulers to enforce the decrees of the Council of Trent. As a result, these reforms were implemented gradually and unevenly across the Italian peninsula. Nonetheless, the imposition of Jewish ghettos in papal Rome and Ancona in 1555 was followed by the establishment Jewish ghettos by secular leaders

³⁸ Unlike other Jewish populations in Italy, Roman Jews had been resident in Rome since as early as the fourth century. Kenneth Stow, *Theatre of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001); Kenneth Stow, *Jewish Life in Early Modern Rome: Challenge, Conversion, Private Life* (Ashgate Publishers, 2007); Kenneth Stow, *The Jews in Rome*, Vols 1-2 (Leiden: Brill, 1995 and 1997); Fabio Barry, "Roman apartheid? The Counter-Reformation Ghettos," *Daidalos*, 59 (1996): 18-31.

in cities including Florence and Siena (1571), Verona (1599), Padua (1601-3), Mantua (1612), Rovigo (1615), Ferrara (1624-6), Urbino (1634), and Modena (1638). By the end of the seventeenth century, Jewish ghettos were built in virtually all the Italian cities where Jews had not already been expelled.³⁹ Although the Jewish *ghetto* was conceived by ecclesiastical authorities as a form of punishment and containment to control the ‘polluting forces’ of Jewish infidels, the formation of a Jewish ghetto also implied the secular authorities’ legal acceptance of Jews within a territory, albeit under less than ideal conditions.⁴⁰ Consequently, some Jewish communities celebrated the establishment of a *ghetto* even though the terms of Jewish residency and taxation remained exploitative and the material conditions in most *ghettos* were cramped and unhygienic.

Europe’s Confessional Age: the Holy Roman Empire, France, and England

Although a politically united ‘Christendom’ never really existed, Europe’s ideal of Christian unity fractured irreparably during the Protestant Reformation. As Martin Luther and John Calvin challenged the spiritual hegemony of the Catholic Church, spiritual and secular leaders transformed theological vitriol into political factionalism. These confessional conflicts were frequently expressed in stark apocalyptic terms. Whereas the printed propaganda of the Lutherans identified the pope as the anti-Christ,

³⁹ Jews were expelled from Spanish Naples in 1541. Research suggests that in some cases the forced enclosure of Jews contributed to a stronger sense of community identity. While this argument has been put forward for the ghettos of Rome and Venice, it is not universally true. The ghetto of Florence, for example, harbored the most impoverished of Tuscan Jews, whereas the more influential Jews had already emigrated to Pisa or Livorno. Stefanie Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence: The Construction of an Early Modern Jewish Community* (Stanford University Press, 2006); Edward Goldberg, *Jews and Magic in Medici Florence: The Secret World of Benedetto Blanis* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011).

⁴⁰ Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550-1750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 72-3.

Catholic rhetoric described Protestants as agents of Satan. Despite abortive attempts to reconcile the doctrinal differences between Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and the various Reformed sects, a binary understanding of Christian truth emerged in which only one true faith was possible and all other confessions were anathema. As such, the toleration of heterodox beliefs and practices amongst Christians was increasingly viewed with suspicion and virulent intolerance became a means for Europeans to assert the righteousness of their confessional identity.

As civil wars erupted in the German states, the Old Swiss Confederacy, the Holy Roman Empire, France, Bohemia, and England, religious heterogeneity was perceived as the primary threat to the spiritual, social, and political order. Nonetheless, efforts to stop sectarian violence and maintain political unity gave rise to a variety of compromise solutions. After decades of fighting between Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and the Lutheran Princes of the Schmalkaldik League, the German Wars of Religion reached a stalemate with the 1555 Peace of Augsburg. The 1555 treaty calcified confessional borders within the Holy Roman Empire according to the notion of *cuius regio, eius religio*, meaning 'whose realm, his religion.' This agreement extended legitimacy to either Catholicism or Lutheranism and determined that the confession of each realm would be determined by the religion of its prince. Although the Peace of Augsburg signaled an emphatic rejection of religious pluralism within a single territory; residents had the choice to either conform or to emigrate. All non-Lutheran reformed confessions, including Calvinism and Anabaptism, were excluded from this arrangement and heresy remained a crime punishable by death.

In France, the French Wars of Religion pitted the Catholic majority against the Huguenot minority in a series of armed conflicts that were perpetuated by factional disputes between French aristocratic houses. Despite the crown's efforts to encourage inter-confessional dialogue at the 1561 Colloquy of Poissy, the Pauline goal of religious unity remained elusive. Although a few moderates adopted an Erasmian position that sought reconciliation through church reform, the two parties were unable to resolve their doctrinal differences. Rather, "each party tried to convert the other to its own faith," as the French crown emphasized the urgency of maintaining political unity.⁴¹ The doctrinal impasse at Poissy led to the 1562 Edict of St-Germain, wherein the French regent Catherine de Médicis declared a measure of toleration for French Huguenots. As Mario Turchetti's work has demonstrated, the 1562 Edict was conceived as a temporary measure which Catholic partisans permitted, "due to the pressing urgency of circumstances ... but without approbation of the new religion."⁴² The tentative nature of this agreement became emphatically clear following the slaughter of French Huguenots during St. Bartholomew's Massacre in 1572.

The exhaustion of religious warfare and the desperate need to restore civil unity in France led King Henry IV to convert to Catholicism and issue the 1598 Edict of Nantes.

⁴¹ Mario Turchetti, "Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXII, No. 1 (1991): 15-25; Mario Turchetti, "Réforme & tolérance, un binôme polysémique," in Piqué and Waterlot (eds), *Tolérance et Réforme*, 9-30; Philip Benedict, "*Un roi, une loi, deux fois*: Parameters for the History of Catholic-Reformed Co-existence in France, 1555-1685," in Grell and Bob Scribner (eds), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, 68; Geoffrey Adams, *The Huguenots and French Opinion, 1685-1787: the Enlightenment Debate on Toleration* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1991).

⁴² As described in the clause of the edict, "Urgenti necessitati temporis, et obtemperando voluntati dicti Domini Regis, absque tamen approbatione novae Religionis; et id totum per modum provisionis, et donec aliter per dictum Dominum Regem fuerit ordinatum." Quoted by Turchetti, "Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France," 18.

While King Henry IV's Edict affirmed the crown's support for Catholic doctrine, it permitted French Huguenots to worship privately. This helped assuage France's most egregious forms of confessional violence, although discrimination against Protestants continued in milder forms. However, despite the fact that the 1598 Edict was described as "perpetual and irrevocable," in 1685 King Louis XIV resumed the full-fledged persecution of Huguenots under the draconian measures of the Edict of Fontainebleau. The divisiveness of the French Wars of Religion led Michel de Montaigne and Sebastian Castellio to advocate for moderation in the treatment of heretics. In addition, Castellio and later Pierre Bayle were among a few outspoken individuals who supported the toleration of two confessions in France as a permanent solution.⁴³ However, the vast majority of moderates among the French *politiques* conceived religious toleration as a limited and temporary measure that was deemed necessary to achieve the ultimate goals of political concord and a future doctrinal reunion.⁴⁴ In this manner, the Edict of Saint-Germain and the Edict of Nantes were examples of the theological logic of *tolerantia* being applied to France's political conditions.

An internal power struggle between spiritual and secular powers in England gradually led King Henry VIII to declare England's independence from the Roman papacy

⁴³ According to historian Hubert Bost, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes provoked the paradigm shift (*changement de paradigme*) that was necessary for the modern formulation of toleration as religious freedom to emerge. For this argument and bibliography on Pierre Bayle and French Huguenots, see Hubert Bost, "Le Refuge Huguenot: un laboratoire de la tolérance?," in Piqué and Waterlot (eds), *Tolérance et Réforme*, 169-194.

⁴⁴ Castellio expressed that his support for religious pluralism when he wrote, "Let us admit two religions in France." Quoted by Turchetti, "Religious Concord and Political Tolerance in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France," 20. After the Reformed Church of Geneva executed Michael Servetus for heresy in 1553 Castellio famously responded, "to kill a man is not to defend a doctrine, it is to kill a man." Quoted by Zagorin, *How the Idea of Religious Tolerance Came to the West*, 119.

in a series of legislative measures that culminated in the 1536 Parliamentary act that denied the pope's authority. Decades of controversy ensued that pitted English Catholics against Protestants supporters of an independent Anglican church. Whereas prominent Catholic loyalists were executed for political treason under Henry VIII, the Catholic Restoration under Queen Mary I in 1553 led to an equally bloody period of Protestant persecutions. The Anglican Church reestablished its independence from Rome and its alignment with Protestant theology under Queen Elizabeth. The 1559 Act of Uniformity permitted greater latitude for theological difference within the Anglican Church and Queen Elizabeth was more discriminating in her acts of persecution. Nonetheless, capital punishment was used against Catholic and Reformed dissenters alike and the Elizabethan compromise gave rise to growing numbers of Reformed Puritan sects who sought the total eradication of popish ritual elements from the Anglican Church. The rising political power of English Puritans contributed to the political divisions that fueled the English civil war (1642-51), and the subsequent persecution of Catholic papists in Puritan England before the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

Locke's *Epistola de Tolerantia*, written in 1685 and published anonymously in 1689, is frequently recognized as a foundational text in the history religious toleration. In this text Locke reiterated Castellio's notion that the precise details of divine truth were ultimately unknowable and that religious conversion should be enacted through persuasions and not violence. However, Locke took this argumentation further by claiming that religion was a "private matter between the individual soul and the creator," and that the social contract of government lacked authority to police matters of individual

conscience.⁴⁵ In distinguishing faith from reason, Locke supported a separation between church and state and concluded that the divergent beliefs of Protestant dissenters in England did not pose a threat to political stability or the established Anglican state church. Locke's ideas tapped into political sentiments that were in circulation following the Glorious Revolution on the eve of England's parliamentary Act of Toleration (1689) that granted religious rights to Protestants dissenters. However, seventeenth century theories of toleration were primarily concerned with reconciling persecution amongst the various Protestant sects. While Locke and Bayle advocated for tolerance of doctrinal deviations amongst Protestants, they categorically excluded popish Catholics and atheists from the social contract. Moreover, the Christian religion was nonetheless considered essential to maintaining the moral fabric of social order, and the toleration of non-Christian Jewish and Muslim 'infidels' was typically considered as a separate and highly problematic category.⁴⁶ However, whereas Locke's treatise on toleration, much like the Act of

⁴⁵ J. Judd Owen, "Locke's Case for Religious Toleration: Its Neglected Foundation in the Essay Concerning Human Understanding," *The Journal of Politics* 69, no. 1 (2007): 156-168; Anthony G. Wilhelm, "Good Fences and Good Neighbors: John Locke's Positive Doctrine of Toleration," *Political Research Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (1999): 145-166; Joshua Mitchell, "John Locke and the Theological Foundation of Liberal Toleration: A Christian Dialectic of History," *The Review of Politics* 52, no. 1 (1990): 64-83; John Marshall, *John Locke, Toleration, and Early Enlightenment Culture* (New York: Cambridge, 2006); Micah Schwartzmann, "The Relevance of Locke's Religious Arguments for Toleration," *Political Theory* 33, No. 5 (2005): 678-705.

⁴⁶ Whereas most seventeenth-century theorists were wholly absorbed in theorizing toleration within their own denominational struggles, Locke diverged radically from his contemporaries by articulating support for the naturalization of Jewish and Muslim minorities in England. Locke was certainly aware of utilitarian arguments in support of the presence of Jews and Muslim in England, particularly since England's trade with North Africa was expanding. Consequently, Locke imagined that Muslim minorities could be tolerated in England in much the same way as Christian sects were in the Muslim Ottoman Empire. He stipulated that this toleration should depend upon Muslims renouncing the political authority of the "Mufti of Constantinople," a figure who embodied England's fear of foreign political influence in a manner similar to the Catholic pope. Locke's analysis went beyond pure utilitarianism; although he denied the theological legitimacy of the Koran, he nonetheless conceded some moral legitimacy to Islam and argued for a type of sociological relativism for non-Christian religions. Nabil Matar, "Locke and the 'Turbanned Nations'," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 2, no. 1 (1991): 67-77.

Toleration passed in the British parliament the same year, only recognized the legitimacy of toleration towards other Christian sects with the exclusion of Catholics due to their conflicting political loyalty to the pope.

Dutch Tolerance

A very different formulation of religious toleration emerged in the Low Countries after Protestant fervor and mounting economic grievances spurred the Revolt of the Netherlands from the control of Catholic Hapsburg Spain (1568-1609). As anti-Catholic resentments simmered, the terms unifying of the rebellious northern provinces of the Netherlands were expressed in the 1579 treaty of the Union of Utrecht. Although the Reformed Calvinist Church became the official state church for the Dutch United Provinces, the thirteenth article of the 1579 Union of Utrecht declared that, “nobody shall be persecuted or examined for religious reasons.”⁴⁷ The vague promises of Article 13 formed the basis upon which the famed Dutch freedom of conscience was built.

Legally, the Union of Utrecht guaranteed that Dutch authorities could not question individuals concerning their religious persuasion and could not obligate them to maintain membership in the Calvinist church. However, the treaty did not explicitly sanction public religious expression by Non-Calvinists so Dutch Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and other reformed sects were forbidden from worshiping publically. Although non-Calvinists families could perform religious rituals and read sacred scriptures in the privacy of their own homes, state prohibitions banned them from forming official congregations by limiting groups to immediate household members and restricting the number of people who could worship privately at one time. Moreover,

⁴⁷ Hsia and van Nierop (eds), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, 2.

visible or auditory signs of dissident worship were outlawed including the public ringing of church bells or the visible construction of steeples. Even suspicious group behavior was banned through prohibitions that limited how many people could enter a building at any one time.

Despite the severity of official restrictions on non-Calvinist worship in the Dutch Republic, the enforcement of these prohibitions was lax. Historian Benjamin Kaplan has examined the proliferation of Dutch *shuilkerk*, or “semi-clandestine churches,” that were installed in Amsterdam and Utrecht in locations hidden from public view in the upper stories of urban homes. Although the owners of these private spaces were subject to the occasional harassment of government officials, these churches and congregations existed as an ‘open secret.’ Indeed, the exact location of some *shuilkerk* were even advertised to tourists in published guidebooks, such as that of the German author, Philip von Zesen, in *Description of Amsterdam* published in 1664.⁴⁸ The Dutch *shuilkerk* were a quintessential manifestation of what Kaplan calls the “early modern fictions of privacy” which sought to neutralize the perceived threat of religious difference through its removal from the public sphere. As such, the distinction between public and private worship facilitated the preservation of “a semblance, or fiction, of religious unity,” that allowed the Reformed church to preserve its monopoly over public religious life in the Dutch Republic.⁴⁹ The Dutch *shuilkerk* offers a useful analytical model to approach diverse urban arrangements for accommodating religious minorities throughout post-Reformation Europe. Whereas

⁴⁸ Philip von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam* (1664), cited by B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 182.

⁴⁹ B. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, 183.

the hidden Catholic chapels in the Dutch Republic created the fiction of secrecy or invisibility, the Jewish synagogues segregated behind the walls of Italian *ghettos* served to visually punctuate the legal disenfranchisement and social ‘otherness’ of Jews. Both solutions, however, offer “the necessary pretense ... around one of the chief obstacles to religious pluralism: the central role of religion in defining communal identities.”⁵⁰

However, the celebrated ‘Dutch tolerance’ of seventeenth century Amsterdam was only partially the result of the “freedom of consciousness” clause contained in the Union of Utrecht. Another important contribution to the Dutch climate of religious toleration was the legal protections granted to Jews by secular authorities in seventeenth century Amsterdam. Although Iberian Jews did not play a significant role in long distance trade prior to the 1492 expulsion, by the late sixteenth century merchants of the Sephardic and Levantine Diaspora assumed a new prominence as intermediaries for trade between Europe and the Ottoman Empire. This led several regimes throughout Europe to invite Portuguese and Spanish refugees to settle and conduct commerce in their lands. In 1593, the city of Amsterdam offered amnesty to Portuguese New Christians after they had been denied admission by the cities of Middleburg and Haarlem. Although the secular Dutch regents invited the Iberian refugees to settle in Amsterdam to attract their lucrative trade connections, the city’s reformed Calvinist clergy strongly opposed this invitation, particularly after the *conversos* reverted to the open practice of Judaism. After 1635, the Khmelntytsky Uprising in Poland and the escalation of the Thirty Years War

⁵⁰ Ibid., 176.

(1618-1648) in the Holy Roman Empire prompted increasing numbers of Ashkenazi Jews to seek refuge in Amsterdam.⁵¹

Throughout the seventeenth century, reformed clergy members circulated polemic writings seeking to convert or expulse Amsterdam's Jews. However, as historian Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia explains, the secular regents largely ignored the complaints of the Reformed clergy because they were more interested in pragmatic policies that promoted "social peace."⁵² Since Amsterdam's Jewish leaders took responsibility for maintaining internal discipline within the Jewish community by enforcing social boundaries and providing poor relief, the Jewish community benefitted from the support from the House of Orange and the city regents of Amsterdam. These secular authorities granted Amsterdam's Jewish community civil protections and the permission to publically worship. Several small synagogues appeared throughout the city and by 1670 Amsterdam's flourishing Sephardic Jewish community acquired a site to build a prominent freestanding synagogue in the center of town.

Dutch Jews were granted permission to pursue university degrees and the Jewish community in Amsterdam included prominent doctors, lawyers, and merchants. Scholars have noted how these conditions fostered not only a Jewish enlightenment in Amsterdam but also a pan-European discourse of economic philosemitism. In 1655, the economic and mercantile power of Amsterdam's Sephardic Jewish population convinced Oliver

⁵¹ Yosef Kaplan, "Amsterdam and the Ashkenazi Migration in the Seventeenth Century," *An Alternative to Modernity: The Sephardic Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 78-107.

⁵² Hsia and van Nierop (eds), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, 3.

Cromwell to readmit certain Jews into England under restricted circumstances.⁵³ Although the climate of toleration during the Dutch Golden Age encouraged the relatively free exchange of ideas amongst and between prominent Jewish rabbis and their Christian Calvinist neighbors, Yosef Kaplan insists that this toleration was rooted in conservative orientations:

These ties and coalitions formed between Jews and Christians against those who were viewed as their enemies, whether Catholic, deists, skeptics, Spinostis, or atheists, were not meant to remove the barriers between the sides to change the societies of the allies, but rather from the start, to strengthen the traditional and conservative orientations within them.⁵⁴

Indeed, revisionist scholars recognize the limits of Dutch toleration within the unequal legal and civil status granted to diverse religious minorities. However, the acceptance of religious pluralism in the Dutch port was predicated upon a “rigorous and vigilant patrolling of boundaries.”⁵⁵

Nonetheless, although Catholics, libertines, and agnostics were subject to persecution in the Dutch Republic, the lax enforcement of these rules encouraged the practice of pragmatic toleration and Dutch regents encouraged a form of civic loyalty that superseded religious differentiation. Over the course of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam’s religious toleration became directly linked with the Dutch Republic’s growing economic prosperity. In 1666, the Dutch poet Jérémias de Decker celebrated an

⁵³ Walsham, *Charitable Hatred*; David S. Katz, *The Jews in the History of England, 1485-1850* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); Katz, *Philo-Semitism and the Readmission of the Jews to England, 1603-1655*.

⁵⁴ Y. Kaplan, “Amsterdam and the Ashkenazi Migration in the Seventeenth Century,” 26.

⁵⁵ Hsia and van Nierop (eds), *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*, 3.

idealized description of cross-cultural trade at Amsterdam's exchange market, or *Bourse*, which he posits as an almost sacred space that encouraged peaceful interaction between individuals of all religions:

[The Amsterdam Bourse is] a hall that at midday teems with people of various kind, a public garden where Moors trade with Norwegians; a temple where Jews, Turks, and Christians stand next to the other, where all languages are taught a fair rich in every product; a bourse which spurs on all the others of the universe.⁵⁶

Religious Pluralism in the Muslim Ottoman Empire

Whereas nearly all regimes in Christian Europe sought to enforce theological homogeneity through the systematic persecution, legal disenfranchisement, or eradication of religious non-conformists, the Ottoman Empire was relatively tolerant of their Jewish and Christian minority subjects. Based on the Qu-ranic concept of *dhimmi*, Muslims recognized the common theological origin of all peoples "of the Book," and under Islamic sharia law *dhimmi* non-Muslims were granted legal protections and political status.⁵⁷ In the Islamic society of the Ottoman Empire, Christian and Jewish minority populations were organized into semi-autonomous confessional communities according to the "structurally guaranteed inequalities" of the Ottoman *millet* system.⁵⁸ Ottoman *dhimmi* were forced to pay additional taxes and subjected to certain social restrictions intended to reinforce their symbolic inferiority to Muslims. At the same time, however,

⁵⁶ Quoted by Donatella Calabi, *The Market and the City: Square, Street, and Architecture in Early Modern Europe* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2004), 183; See also Henry Méchoulan, *Amsterdam XVII siècle: Marchands et Philosophes: Les Bénéfices de la Tolérance* (Paris: Autrement, 1993), 76.

⁵⁷ Benjamin Braude, "Foundation Myth of the *Millet* System," in Braude and Lewis (eds), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, 69-88.

⁵⁸ The term *millet* is controversial. See Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 112.

they were granted substantial religious freedoms and the rights to self-governorship within their communities. Thus, while Jewish synagogues and Greek and Latin-rite Churches could not exceed the height of Ottoman mosques, the practice of religious pluralism in the Ottoman Empire was remarkably tolerant of non-Muslim worship, particularly when compared to the bitter religious wars ongoing within Europe. In the 1576, the Catholic French jurist and political philosopher Jean Bodin expressed admiration for the religious pluralism permitted within the Ottoman Empire in *Six Books of the Republic*:

The great emperor of the Turkes doth with as great devotion as any prince in the world honor and observe the religion by him received from his ancestors, and yet detesteth he not the strange religions of others; but to the contrary permitteth every man to live according to his conscience: yea and that more is, mere unto his palace at Pera, sufferth foure divers religions, viz. That of the Jews, that of the Christians, that of the Grecians, and that of the Mohametans.⁵⁹

While the Ottomans were tolerant of religious pluralism amongst their diverse subject populations, the Sultans were also quite accommodating towards Christian and non-Muslim foreigners who resided in Constantinople for the purposes of trade. Since the medieval period, Muslim territories throughout the Mediterranean had mediated cross-cultural trade with Christians through the creation of segregated mercantile houses, alternatively called the Greek *pandeccheon*, the Arabic *funduq* or the Latin *fundaco*.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁹ Jean Bodin, *Six Books of the Republic* (1576), English translation by Richard Knolles (London: Bishop, 1606). Also cited by Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*, 111; Gary Remer, "Bodin's Pluralistic Theory of Toleration," in Nederman and Laurensen (eds), *Difference and Dissent*, 119-138; Daniel J. Vitkus, "Early Modern Orientalism," in David Blanks and Michael Frassato (eds), *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1999), 207-230.

⁶⁰ Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

mercantile *funduqs* in Islamic lands protected Christian merchants and their merchandise by segregating them from the local populace. Inside the establishment, European merchants were typically permitted to engage in Christian religious activities and allowed to consume alcohol and foods otherwise restricted to Muslims. By providing Christian merchants with access to translators and co-nationals, such institutions facilitated trade and had the benefit of assisting local governments in controlling taxation on foreign goods.

After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Sultan extended *dhimmi* protections to the merchants of various European trading nations. As a continuation of trade agreements formerly negotiated under the Byzantine Empire, the Sultan issued unilateral trade capitulations (*ahidnâme*) that outlined the protections and privileges offered to foreign Christians. Although the Ottoman capitulatory regime began with concessions granted exclusively to the Genoese trading nation, the Venetian and Florentine trading nations subsequently negotiated similar agreements.⁶¹ However, Ottoman capitulations had to be renewed upon the death of each Sultan, and thus the continuation of such agreements depended upon ongoing diplomatic negotiations. Such negotiations became contentious for Catholic regimes in the mid-sixteenth century after the papacy revived the Crusading spirit and called for secular regimes to wage holy war

⁶¹ Alexander H. De Groot, "The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Oriente Moderno, Nuova Serie, Anno 22* (83), nr. 3 (2003): 575-604; Daniel Goffman, "Negotiating with the Renaissance State: the Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy," in Virginia Askan and Daniel Goffman (eds), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61-74; Eric R. Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 1-30.

against the Ottoman Turks. Although a few Catholic regimes, such as the Venetian Republic and the French were able to maintain direct negotiations with the Ottoman Empire, other Catholic regimes such as the Florentines lost the favorable conditions of Ottoman capitulations.⁶² By the early seventeenth century, Protestant nations including the Dutch Republic (1612) and England gained capitulations from the Ottoman Empire and became increasingly prominent within Levantine trade.⁶³

The Ottoman capitulations granted to diverse European nations varied in their particular details but generally included the Sultan's guarantee that merchants had the right to safe passage when traveling in Ottoman lands, the ability to reside in Constantinople's suburb of Pera (Galata), and the right to resolve legal disputes in the Sultan's courts in Constantinople rather than in those of provincial Cadi judges. In addition, European merchants were granted autonomy in their internal self-governance and were given access to a number of religious and social freedoms when in Constantinople. However, much like the restrictions placed on Christian traders in the mercantile *funduqs*, Europeans were required to keep their residency in the "European" part of Constantinople (Pera) across the Golden Horn. Consequently, although the Ottoman populace included a great deal of internal religious diversity, relations between

⁶² Sergio Camerani, "Contributo alla storia dei trattati commerciali fra la Toscana e i Turchi," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, XCVII, no. 2 (1939): 83-101; Maria Pia Pedani Fabris, *In Nome del Gran Signore: Inviati ottomani a Venezia dalla caduta di Costantinopoli alla guerra di Candia* (Venezia: Deputazione editrice, 1994).

⁶³ Mehmet Bulut, *Ottoman-Dutch Economic Relations in the Early Modern Period 1571-1699* (Hilversum: Universiteit Utrecht, 2000).

Ottoman Muslims and visiting Europeans were characterized by residential segregation, mediated interaction, and mutual avoidance.⁶⁴

Universal Religious Toleration

Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim regimes throughout Early Modern Europe and the Mediterranean were forced to consider a variety of political, economic, and theological factors when articulating their justification for the persecution or toleration of religious minorities. While the demands of political stability and global trade encouraged many regimes to consider the advantages of explicitly or tacitly permitting the freedom of conscience, seventeenth century political thinkers nonetheless believed that a single dominant state religion was essential for effective political rule. Indeed, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century when Enlightenment thinkers began to positively associate religious toleration with a cosmopolitan celebration of pluralism and difference. In François-Marie Arouet's polemical *Traité sur la Tolérance*, first published in 1763, the aged French philosophe, playwright, and social activist known to readers as Voltaire, employed "philosophy, the sister of religion" to argue in favor of what he called, "universal religious toleration."⁶⁵ Inspired by contemporary French polemic concerning the wrongful conviction, torture, and execution of the Protestant merchant Jean Calas in 1762 by the appellate court of Toulouse, Voltaire's treatise reached

⁶⁴ Edhem Eldem, "Foreigners at the Threshold of Felicity: The Reception of Foreigners in Ottoman Istanbul," in D. Calabi and S. Christensen (eds), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Vol. II, Cities and Cultural Exchange in Europe 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 114-131.

⁶⁵ Voltaire, "Chapter 22: Of Universal Toleration," *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763), translated by T. Smollet, *The Works of Voltaire Translated from the French*, Vol. 24 (London: J. Newbery et al., 1764); Ole Peter Grell and Roy Porter, "Toleration in Enlightenment Europe," in Ole Grell and Roy Porter (eds), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 2000), 1-22.

beyond the particularities of the eighteenth-century cause célèbre to examine religious pluralism in Occidental and Oriental societies both past and present.⁶⁶

Voltaire introduced religious toleration as a concept “known to the ancient Greeks and Romans,” practiced amongst the societies of pre-closure Japan, and supported by the pacifist Quakers of New World Colonies.⁶⁷ By drawing an analogy between tolerant practices in European and non-Western cultures, Voltaire universalized what he saw as a dichotomy between the disruptive violence caused by religious persecution and the pacifistic prosperity that ensued from religious toleration. Evoking the policies of religious pluralism under the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, Voltaire reiterated how multicultural accommodation was virtually obligatory for the governance of vast empires. Moreover, he argued, the practice of religious tolerance in these Empires promoted trade, increased prosperity, and posed no political threat to state authorities:

The grand Seignior [Sultan] peacefully rules over subjects of twenty different religions; upwards of two hundred thousand Greeks live unmolested in the walls of Constantinople ... the Ottoman Empire swarms with Jacobins, Nestorians, Monothelites, Cophti, Christians of St. John, Guebres, and Banians; and the Turkish Annals do not furnish us with one single instance of a rebellion occasioned by any of these different sects.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Voltaire wrote the treatise from his residence in Ferney, a town strategically positioned on the Franco-Swiss border, from which he could easily flee French censors should they pursue him. The work was his response to the prosecution of two Protestant families in France who were punished for crimes they did not commit (the Calas and Sirven). Although Voltaire’s support did not spare the life of Calas, his efforts did contribute to the man’s posthumous declaration of innocence. Scholars today recognize that Voltaire’s deism was relatively conservative compared to the atheism proposed by some of his eighteenth century contemporaries. Even so, critics condemned his treatise for propagating ideas that were tyrannical and overly permissive towards political unrest. Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment: A Comprehensive Anthology* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

⁶⁷ Voltaire, *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763), 62-79.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 45-6.

Although Voltaire's examination of the pluralistic Ottoman Empire lacked analytical rigor, his observations served as a rhetorical foil to emphasize the barbarity and absurdity of European intolerance, particularly as practiced during the bloody sixteenth and seventeenth century Wars of Religion.⁶⁹ By enumerating the many "violent calamities" that plagued Germany, England, Holland and France following the Protestant Reformation, Voltaire attacked the hypocrisy of intolerant Christians and blamed the carnage of these wars on excessive religious fanaticism, "inspired by a spirit of controversy and the abuse of the Christian religion."⁷⁰ Mixing satire with argumentation, Voltaire warned against the dangers of (Catholic) superstition and expressed faith in the triumph of reason as an antidote to religious fanaticism:

But of all these superstitions, is not the most dangerous that of hating your neighbor for his opinions? And is it not evident that it would be much more reasonable to worship the Holy Navel, the Holy Foreskin, or the milk or the robe of the Virgin Mary, than to detest and persecute your brother?⁷¹

Voltaire recognized his indebtedness to seventeenth century political philosophers including John Locke and Pierre Bayle whose ideas facilitated the epistemological separation between religious and civil society. Moreover, he suggested that his *Treatise on Toleration* could be a guide for the future of France, which demanded a new direction

⁶⁹ Late eighteenth century Europeans no longer perceived the Ottoman Empire as a military threat but rather as the embodiment of the exotic 'Other.' See Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), *Europe through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009).

⁷⁰ Voltaire, *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763), 39. For Voltaire's interpretation of Christ's teaching of tolerance, see *Ibid.*, 183-195.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, "Ch. 20 Whether it is of Service to Indulge People in Superstition," 229.

because, “One cannot govern France after it has been enlightened by Pascal, Nicole, Arnauld, Bossuet, Descartes, Gassendi, Bayle, Fontenelle and the others as it has been governed in the times of Garasse and Menot.”⁷²

As the great promoter of French Enlightenment ideas, Voltaire created a powerful cultural construct that lauded “universal toleration” as a cosmopolitan virtue capable of transcending national, racial, religious, and cultural divisions.⁷³ By proposing the maxim that “toleration has never incited civil wars while its opposite has filled the world with slaughter and desolation,” Voltaire outlined a deists’ vision of religious pluralism wherein Christians, Jews, Muslims, and Buddhists could be considered brethren under the same creator:

It does not require any great art or magnificently studied elocution to prove that Christians ought to tolerate each other. Nay, I shall go still farther, and say, that we ought to look upon all men as brethren. How! Call a Turk, a Jew, and a Siamese my brother? Yes, doubtless; for are we not all children of the same parent and creatures of the same Creator?⁷⁴

The ideas of Locke, Voltaire, and other Enlightenment thinkers signaled a paradigm shift in which religious toleration was linked to natural rights theory and thus became a desirable *telos*, or goal unto itself.

While the celebration of religious difference was an Enlightenment novelty, there were nonetheless strong continuities between pragmatic arguments in favor of toleration in pre and post-Enlightenment Europe. Although Voltaire’s treatise did not expound upon

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (W.W. Norton & Co., 2007); “Voltaire’s Treatise on Toleration,” *The Critical Review: Annals of Literature*, by a Society of Gentlemen, Volume 18 (London: A. Hamilton, 1764): 410-418.

⁷⁴ Voltaire, *Traité sur la Tolérance* (1763), 50; Ibid., 234.

the mechanics of universal toleration within early modern political culture, he did emphasize economic prosperity as a tangible reward.⁷⁵ In fact, his description of multicultural commercial transactions at London's exchange market evokes the idealism of the Dutch poet Jérémias de Decker's 1666 praise of Amsterdam's Bourse as a pluralistic "temple":

Take a view of the Royal Exchange in London, place more venerable than many courts of justice, where the representatives of all nations meet for the benefit of all mankind. There the Jew, the Mahometan, and the Christian transact together as tho' they all professed the same religion, and give the name of Infidel to none but bankrupts. There the Presbyterian confides in the Anabaptist, and the Churchman depends on the Quaker's word.⁷⁶

Although the forms of religious toleration practiced in seventeenth century Amsterdam and eighteenth century London were partial and particularistic, the Whig interpretation of history follows in the footsteps of Voltaire by ignoring these discrepancies in favor of celebrating a progressive model of history leading to triumphant universalism. While the radical secularism of the French Revolution attempted to nullify the structural inequalities inherent within the politicization of religion, most early modern

⁷⁵ The salutary benefits of religious competition was expressed in the economic theory of Adam Smith, whose 1776 *Wealth of Nations* advocated for open competition among religions as a means to reduce fanaticism. Smith suggested that competition amongst hundreds or thousands of religious sects would promote moderation amongst all of them, "The interested and active zeal of religious teachers can be dangerous and troublesome only where there is, either but one sect tolerated in the society, or where the whole of a large society is divided into two or three great sects ... But that zeal must be altogether innocent where the society is divided into two or three hundred, or perhaps into as many thousand small sects, of which no one could be considerable enough to disturb the public tranquility. The teachers of each sect, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides with more adversaries than friends, would be obliged to learn that candour and moderation which is so seldom to be found among the teachers of those great sects ... [this] might in time probably reduce the doctrine of the greater part of them to that pure and rational religion, free from every mixture of absurdity, imposture, and fanaticism, such as wise men have in all ages of the world wished to see established." Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan, 1776), Book 5, Ch. 1, Pt. 3, Art. 3.

⁷⁶ Quoted by Grell and Porter (eds), *Toleration in Enlightenment Europe*, 4.

regimes persisted in maintaining an official state religion whilst introducing legislation to tolerate religious minorities. Indeed, even amongst the fully secular political structures of contemporary Europe the aspiration to separate matters of religion from matters of state remains an elusive and often contentious goal. Ultimately, while it may be tempting to conceive of the *longue durée* history of religious toleration as a narrative of nondenominational or deist heroes battling Catholic and Puritan persecutors, in reality the negotiation of religious difference is always couched in compromise and concession.

The post-Tridentine Catholic Church was complicit in propagating systematic forms of religious persecution and the secular power wielded by the papacy made Catholicism politically threatening to Protestant regimes. However, revisionist scholars should be weary of the monolithic Whig bias that vilifies all Catholic regimes as embodying irrational superstition and dangerous politicized zealotry. Rather, as the remainder of this and subsequent chapters demonstrate, several Catholic regimes in sixteenth century Italy participated in and even pioneered pragmatic policies that favored limited religious toleration.

Mercantile Tolerations in Catholic Ancona, Ferrara, and Venice

Catholic regimes in early modern Italy were expected to enforce religious orthodoxy domestically and support ideological and military Crusade abroad. However, given the prominence of non-Catholic merchants within Early Modern trade, the demands of spiritual stewardship often conflicted with the mercantilist interests of the state. Until the late fifteenth century, Italian merchants from the cities of Venice, Genoa, Lucca, and Florence enjoyed near hegemonic control over trade between Europe and the Levant.

Through the exportation of Italian textiles and the importation of foreign goods, Venice became a major international emporium and the Serenissima profited richly from its monopoly on the spice trade. However, the fall of the Byzantine Empire and the expansion of shipping routes into the Indian Ocean transformed the geopolitical landscape of international trade. Ongoing military conflicts between the Ottoman Empire and the Catholic regimes of Italy increased the importance of Armenian, Sephardic, and Levantine Jewish intermediaries while Northern European merchants also became increasingly competitive in Mediterranean markets.⁷⁷ As secular and papal leaders in Italy adjusted to the new realities of global trade, they were forced to reconsider the role that Jews and other non-Catholics played within the economic well being of Catholic states.

Whereas ‘German’ and ‘Italian’ Jews had been sporadically tolerated in medieval Italy for their usurious money-lending services, the growth of the Sephardic and Levantine Jewish trade Diaspora led to the rise of pragmatic mercantile tolerations in the sixteenth century.⁷⁸ While most Catholic states in Europe actively persecuted Jewish, New Christian, and Muslim minorities, the leaders of the Italian cities of Ancona, Ferrara, Venice, and Livorno sought to capitalize on the climate of intolerance following the Iberian expulsions. Motivated by economic opportunism, these regimes offered

⁷⁷ In 1498, the Portuguese explorer Vasco da Gama discovered the route around the Cape of Good Hope to reach the Indian Ocean, which allowed ships to bypass the emporium of Venice.

⁷⁸ Despite an attempt to expel the Jews from Venice in 1571, the *Recondotta* legislation in 1589 guaranteed Venice’s Jewish immigrants from the Iberian Peninsula and Ottoman Empire protection from the Inquisition. Benjamin Arbel, *Trading Nations: Jews and Venetians in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Leiden: Brill, 1995); Benjamin Arbel, “Jews in International Trade: The Emergence of the Levantines and the Ponentines,” in Davis and Ravid (eds), *The Jews of Early Modern Venice*, 73-96; J. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism*.

settlement charters, economic privileges, and letters of safe passage to Jewish, New Christian, and Levantine merchants willing to settle and conduct commerce in their lands. By promising religious minorities secure property rights, protection from religious persecution, and immunities from exploitative taxation, these Catholic regimes hoped to profit from the integration of non-Catholic mercantile networks and capital into local markets. While most Iberian refugees migrated to cities in the Ottoman Empire and Northern Europe, some responded to the invitations of Catholic regimes in Italy. However, as evident in the case of papal Ancona and the Este Duchy of Ferrara, the protections offered by Catholic regimes were notoriously unreliable and could be revoked with shifting political or economic tides.

Despite Pope Paul III's role as founder of the Roman Inquisition and figurehead for the first Council of Trent, the papal leader allowed opportunistic mercantile interests to prevail in the port of Ancona. Following the papal take-over of the city in 1541, the pope honored pre-existing privileges that granted Jewish and Ottoman merchants the ability to reside and conduct business in the port.⁷⁹ Moreover, the pope expanded upon these privileges in order to attract wealthy *marranos* fleeing expulsion from Spanish Naples (1541). In 1541, Pope Paul III invited "all merchants of whatever nation, profession, or sect, even if Turks, Jews, or Infidels" to settle in the port of Ancona. In

⁷⁹ Richard Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 190-91; Ercole Sori, "Evoluzione demografica, economica, e sociale di una città-porto: Ancona tra XVI e XVIII secolo," in Alekjej Kalc and Elisabetta Navarra (eds), *Le popolazioni del mare* (Udine: Società Editrice Universitaria Udinese, 2003), 13-46; Peter Earle, "The Commercial Development of Ancona 1479-1551," *Economic History Review* 22 (1969): 28-44.

1547, he specified that Jews in Ancona had immunity from prosecution by the Roman Inquisition and that they were exempt from wearing identifying insignia.

Although Pope Paul III's incentives initially fostered a growing Sephardic and Levantine Jewish community in Ancona, papal policy underwent a dramatic reversal at the end of his pontificate. As mandated in Pope Paul IV's 1555 bull, *Cum Nimis Absurdum*, Jews residing in the Papal States were stripped of economic privileges, ordered to live in walled ghettos, and forced to wear identifying insignia. Despite the mercantile power of Ancona's Jews, non-Catholics were no longer protected by special privileges, a point made brutally clear in 1556 when a series of Inquisition trials in Ancona resulted in the execution of 25 *marranos* burned at the stake for the crime of Judaizing.⁸⁰ While Levantine Jews and Ottoman merchants were spared at the explicit request of the Ottoman Sultan Suleyman I, Ancona's Jewish Sephardim were forced to organize a trade boycott to protest their persecution.⁸¹ As the climate of religious persecution waxed and waned, subsequent pontiffs reinstated certain privileges for Jewish and Levantine merchants in Ancona. However, the establishment of Ancona's Jewish ghetto and the fundamental insecurity of papal promises hindered the growth of the port's non-Catholic mercantile community. Even so, the mercantile tolerations that Pope Paul III granted to religious minorities in Ancona set an important precedent for secular regimes elsewhere in Italy to emulate.

⁸⁰ Bernard Dov Cooperman, "Portuguese *Conversos* in Ancona: Jewish Political Activity in Early Modern Italy," in Bernard Dov Cooperman (ed.), *In Iberia and Beyond: Hispanic Jews Between Cultures* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 297-352; Max Radin, "A Charter of Privileges of the Jews in Ancona of the Year 1535," *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series 4, No. 2 (Oct., 1913): 225-248.

⁸¹ The retaliatory boycott was organized by Doña Gracia Mendes. Cooperman, "Portuguese *Conversos* in Ancona," 297.

Whereas papal Ancona was directly subject to the orders of the Holy Office, inquisitors working in territories beyond the Papal States depended upon the cooperation of local authorities for the arrest, extradition and imprisonment of accused heretics and Judaizers. Consequently, secular authorities could exploit loopholes in state and papal jurisdiction to resist Inquisitorial interference and uphold the protections they offered to Jews and other non-Catholics. The secular regimes governing the cities of Ferrara and Venice weighed the political and economic costs of compliance or non-compliance with the Holy Office differently.

The Este Dukes who ruled the city of Ferrara had maintained friendly relations with Jewish moneylenders throughout the fifteenth century. In 1538, Pope Clement VII's pardon of Portuguese Jews forcibly converted to Catholicism prompted Duke Ercole II to issue a letter of safe conduct inviting Sephardic Jews residing in Antwerp to relocate their mercantile activities to Ferrara.⁸² Although the Este Dukes publically renewed these protections in 1556, post-Tridentine pressure continued to mount and the resolve of the regime crumbled. Pope Gregory XIII's 1581 bull, *Antiqua Iudaeorum Improbilas*, expanded the jurisdiction of the Roman Inquisition by allowing tribunals to prosecute Jews for deviations from Jewish orthodoxy and social transgressions such as sexual relations with a Christian. When a high-level papal inquisitor requested the extradition of a prominent Ferrarese *converso* in 1580, Duke Alfonso II d'Este initially stalled the procedure. Ultimately though, the Duke caved to papal pressure and the conviction of a single prominent Ferrarese Jew launched inquisitorial proceedings for dozens of his

⁸² Jews were invited to settle in Ferrara in 1493. Aaron di Leone Leoni, *La Nazione Ebraica Spagnola e Portoghese di Ferrara (1492-1559)*, Vol. 1 (Firenze: Leo S. Olsinki, 2011).

named Judaizing accomplices. While the Inquisitorial proceedings during the early 1580s undermined the settlement protections offered to Jews in Ferrara, the level of persecution escalated further when the city came under the jurisdiction of the Papal States following the 1597 death of the Duke Alfonso II.⁸³ Whereas the Este Dukes experimented with but ultimately abandoned the pragmatic policies of religious toleration that brought economic profit to their city, secular leaders in the Republic of Venice were more resilient in prioritizing state economic interests over the enforcement of religious homogeneity.

Venetian Cosmopolitanism and Enlightened Self-interest in Livorno

As the capital of a “liquid empire” with extensive territorial holdings throughout the eastern Mediterranean, the city of Venice was celebrated for its cosmopolitanism and economic vitality.⁸⁴ In a travel narrative published in 1617, the Englishman Fynes Moryson described the Venetian marketplace as a “great concourse of all nations ... that in no place is to be found in ... such variety of apparel, languages, and manners.”⁸⁵ While the Venetian Republic was willing to accommodate peoples of diverse cultures and religions for the sake of commerce and trade, the city’s governing bodies nonetheless

⁸³ The papal legates of Ferrara instigated discriminatory policies immediately upon taking power, but they waited until 1627 to formally establish a ghetto in the city.

⁸⁴ On the government of Venice’s liquid empire, see Monique O’Connell, *Men of Empire: Power and Negotiation in Venice’s Maritime State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2009); For a critique of the myths of Venetian historiography, see James Grubb, “When Myths Lose their Power: Four Decades of Venetian Historiography,” *Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 43-94; John Jeffries Martin and Dennis Roman (eds), *Venice Reconsidered: The History and Civilization of an Italian City-State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁸⁵ Moryson’s spelling here is modernized. Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary: Containing His Ten Years Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland* (1617), Vol. I (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 186.

devised a variety of institutional, juridical, and urban strategies to control, mediate, and neutralize the perceived threat that foreigners and non-Catholics posed within the capital city.⁸⁶ Although naturalization and the acquisition of Venetian citizenship was available for some wealthy Catholics, most foreigners and all religious minorities in Venice were set apart from the entrenched power structures available to members of the Venetian patriciate. Instead, Venice's diverse foreign communities were organized into legally separate 'national' bodies whose economic, social, and religious activities were both "privileged and restricted" through regulations imposed by the Venetian state.⁸⁷

Although Jews were initially forbidden from residing within the city of Venice, the establishment of the Jewish ghetto on March 29, 1516 marked the Venetian Republic's decision to follow the medieval logic of *tolerantia* to accommodate Jews in a temporary and restricted manner. As described in the Senate Decree, the "urgent needs of the present times" required city officials to allow Jews into Venice so that poor Christians could benefit from the petty moneylending services that they provided. While the decree cited economic exigencies to justify the new policy, Jews were still forbidden from purchasing property and strict rules were implemented to temper the perceived social and spiritual threats of the Jewish presence:

But no God fearing subject of our state would have wished them, after their arrival, to disperse throughout the city, sharing houses with Christians and going wherever they choose by day and night, perpetrating all those misdemeanors and detestable and abominable acts which are generally

⁸⁶ For transcriptions of primary sources related to Venice's management of Germans, Greeks, Jews, and Ottoman Turks, see David Chambers and Brian Pullan (eds), "Most of their People are Foreigners," *Venice: A Documentary History 1450-1630* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), 323-352.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 323.

known and shameful to describe, with grave offense to the Majesty of God and uncommon notoriety on the part of this well-ordered Republic.⁸⁸

To preserve the integrity of the “well-ordered Republic”, the Venetian state counteracted the morally polluting forces of the Jewish presence using the locked gates, hired guards, and nightly curfews that later became typical of all Jewish ghettos. Meanwhile, the regime manipulated the terms and conditions governing Jewish residency charters (*condotte*) using the threat of expulsion to ensure that conditions were beneficial to patrician interests.

While all Jews in Venice were forced to reside within the overcrowded confines of the *ghetto*, the Venetian state granted different social and economic privileges to the various nations that comprised the city’s Jewish ‘corporation’, or *Università degli Ebrei*. The negotiation of temporary residency contracts reinforced the socio-economic inequalities that persisted amongst Venice’s diverse Jewish nations by placing different restrictions on Venice’s Ashkenazi ‘German’, Italian, Sephardic, and Levantine Jews. For example, one *condotta* renewal for ‘German’ Jews in 1624 stipulated that Venice’s *Ebrei Tedeschi* were limited to employment in either moneylending or trade in second hand clothing. In addition, magistrates of the Venetian Republic regulated the specific terms of Jewish moneylending and fixed the fees and interest rates in a manner that was beneficial to Christian borrowers but financially detrimental for the Jewish pawnbrokers.⁸⁹ These conditions exacerbated the financial stress placed on the impoverished *Ebrei Tedeschi*

⁸⁸ Senate Decree dated March 29, 1516. Ibid., 338.

⁸⁹ The *condotta* renewal for the *Ebrei Tedeschi* that was issued by the Senate on November 6, 1624 specified, “For the convenience of the poor, the Jews shall be bound to provide them with loans of 3 ducats or less on each pawn ticket, upon interest of 1 *bagattino* per *lira* per month and no more.” Ibid., 342-3.

who additionally suffered from exploitative rates of taxation and inflated rental prices for properties within the *ghetto*.

In contrast, the Venetian Republic granted special privileges to Venice's Levantine and Sephardic Jews due to their lucrative mercantile ties with the Ottoman Empire. After Levantine Jewish merchants complained of the "cramped" conditions of the Jewish Ghetto in 1541, Venetian Magistrates agreed to enlarge the segregated Jewish neighborhood to include a new bridge and island called the "Ghetto Vecchio."⁹⁰ Although Iberian New Christian *marranos* were expelled from Venice in 1550 for living amongst Christians and reportedly sowing "a wicked and evil doctrine," by the late sixteenth century the Serenissima was actively recruiting prosperous Jewish Sephardim to come and reside 'safely' within the ghetto.⁹¹ In 1589, a prominent Jew of Portuguese New Christian origin named Daniel Rodriga appealed on behalf of all Sephardic and Levantine Jewish merchants who sought a series of privileges and protections from the Venetian state. To ameliorate the social and economic burdens that they endured while pursuing mercantile activity in the Republic, Rodriga requested that their settlement charter should stipulate that Jewish merchants could, "travel freely" and "pay the same duties as Venetian citizens." Moreover, he requested that the state allow them to live as Jews and practice

⁹⁰ Decree from June 2, 1541. Ibid., 344; See also Benjamin Ravid, "The Establishment of the Ghetto Vecchio of Venice 1541," *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies* II (1975): 153-67; Benjamin Ravid, "The First Charter of the Jewish Merchants of Venice, 1589," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* I (1976): 187-222; Ennio Concina, Ugo Camerino, and Donatella Calabi (eds), *La città degli ebrei: il ghetto di Venezia, architettura e urbanistica* (Venezia: Albrizzi Editore, 1991); Riccardo Calimani, *The Ghetto of Venice* (Milano: Oscar Mondadori, 1995); Donatella Calabi and Paola Lanaro (eds), *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV-XVIII secolo* (Roma: Laterza, 1998).

⁹¹ Pullan and Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History*, 345-6.

their religious ceremonies “without being subject to inquisition.”⁹² Although the religious freedoms granted to Sephardim did not explicitly offer them immunity from the Inquisition as Rodriga had hoped, Venetian magistrates were reluctant to support Inquisitorial proceedings against wealthy Sephardim as long as their behavior was in accordance with the rules of the ghetto.⁹³

Although the theology of religious persecution provided the moral justification for segregating Jews into the Venetian ghetto, the dynamics of urban segregation and privileged particularism were also evident in Venetian efforts to establish residential institutions for transalpine merchants and Turkish merchants from the Ottoman Empire. When the concept of the mercantile *funduq* was imported from the Levant to Europe in the thirteenth century, the religious homogeneity of Europe’s foreign merchants largely precluded the residential advantages offered by the segregated *funduqs* in Muslim lands.⁹⁴

⁹² Ibid., 346-7. The Sephardic Jews also sought immunity from the financial obligation imposed on Germanic Jews who were required to finance the banks. Although this request was initially granted it was later revoked after protests from the *Ebrei Tedeschi*.

⁹³ Pullan, *The Jews of Europe and the Inquisition of Venice 1550-1670*.

⁹⁴ The Arabic word *funduq* came into usage in the late 9th century to describe institutions in Muslim lands that served a variety of functions for travelers, pilgrims, and merchants. The Muslim *funduq* shared characteristics with the earlier Greek *pandochein*, Syriac *putqā*, and Hebrew *pundāq*. However, during the medieval period the *funduq* acquired a unique fiscal and regulatory function for Christian merchants who were permitted to consume wine and swine inside these institutions even though such behaviors were prohibited among the general Muslim population. Local regimes profited from heavy taxation on these imported products. In the thirteenth century, Christian merchants adapted the *funduq* concept to ports in the southern Mediterranean. However, due to the relatively homogenous religious composition of medieval Europe’s mercantile population, the *fondax*, *fundicum*, and *fondaco* institutions evolved into a building typology akin to a public or private warehouse space. Within this institutional genealogy, the sixteenth century Venetian *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* and the *Fondaco dei Turchi* were closer to the residential hosteleries of Muslim *funduqs* than to European *fondacos*. See Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, 40-45; Ennio Concina, *Fondaci: Architettura, arte, e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia, e Alemagna* (Venezia: Polis Marsilio, 1997); Ugo Tucci, “Tra Venezia e il mondo turco: i mercanti,” *Venezia e i Turchi: scontri e confronti tra due civiltà* (Milano: Electa, 1985), 38-55; Donatella Calabi and Derek Keene, “Merchants’ Lodgings and Cultural Exchange,” in Calabi and Christensen, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 315-348.

Although Christian merchants were active in the Muslim territories of the Levant throughout the medieval period, Muslim merchants were generally dissuaded from traveling to Christian lands beyond the abode of Islam, or *dar-al-Islam*.⁹⁵ Since foreign merchants in medieval Europe were homogeneously Christian, they simply rented rooms in hostels that were unsegregated from the general populace. As such, the Latinized terms *fundicum* or *fondaco* were typically used to describe private or public warehouses in Europe that foreign merchants used for commercial storage. While most *fondachi* in medieval and early modern Italy were not residential in nature, the city of Venice hosted two important exceptions to this trend: *the Fondaco dei Tedeschi* and the *Fondaco dei Turchi*.

In as early as 1228, the Republic of Venice established the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi* as a compulsory residence house for the merchants and merchandise of ‘German’ foreigners engaged in transalpine trade. Initially, the German *fondaco* was conceived as a fiscal endeavor to concentrate transalpine merchants into a single boarding house in order to more easily tax their commercial transactions. Located on a prominent site along the Grand Canal near Venice’s commercial center at the Rialto, the medieval building that housed the first German *fondaco* was destroyed by fire in 1505. A few years later the Venetian Republic renewed its commitment to the institution’s fiscal and administrative advantages by building the sixteenth-century *fondaco dei Tedeschi*. **[Fig. 2.2]** The Renaissance courtyard building was designed as a self-contained structure that offered merchants the opportunity to rent residential, storage, and commercial space for business

⁹⁵ Matar, *Europe through Arab Eyes 1578-1727*; Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), *In the Lands of Christians: Arabic Travel Writing in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

transactions. Although German artisans and their families who belonged to Venice's more humble class of foreigners were allowed to live unrestricted within the city, prosperous German merchants and their agents were required by law to live segregated within the *fondaco*. Although the four-story building was subject to strict regulations that imposed nightly curfews and controlled economic activity within the building, demand for space within the structure was high.

Since the German *fondaco* was founded centuries before the advent of the 'Lutheran heresy,' it is evident that the Venetian government initially conceived of the institution as a purely fiscal endeavor. However, the building acquired additional utility following the Protestant Reformation by offering German merchants a discrete space that could accommodate their religious practices in a manner that was obscured from the scrutiny of suspicious papal inquisitors.⁹⁶ According to a report by the papal nuncio of Venice, Alberto Bolognetti, of the roughly nine hundred 'Germans' who lived in Venice in c. 1580, all but two hundred should be considered heretics. Within Venice's German language church it was "customary to preach heretical doctrine in public." Moreover, the nuncio described, the seat of heretical ideas and practices was concentrated amongst the hundred German merchants and hundred agents who lived in the *Fondaco dei Tedeschi*. Indeed, within the merchant exchange house Germans "kept heretical books, ate meat and other foods of every kind at will on forbidden days, and conversed as they pleased of

⁹⁶ Antwerp's Hanseatic League House constructed in 1568 offers a contrasting typology for a residential merchant house conceived to protect Hansa merchants. Concina, *Fondaci*, 125-44; Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World*, 315-28; Karl-Ernst Lupprian, *Il Fondaco dei tedeschi e la sua funzione di controllo del commercio tedesco a Venezia* (Venice: Centro Tedesco di Studi Veneziani, 1978); Philippe Dollinger, *The German Hansa* (Stanford: Calif., Stanford University Press, 1970); David Gaimster, "A Parallel History: The Archaeology of Hanseatic Urban Culture in the Baltic c. 1200-1600," *World Archaeology* 37, no. 3 (2005): 428-423.

matters of faith.” According to the nuncio, the flagrant disregard for Catholic orthodoxy was so extreme that if an individual in the *fondaco* “clung to the rites of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, he would be scorned and ridiculed by the others.” Most problematically in the eyes of the papal nuncio, the heresies that proliferated behind the walls of the *fondaco* permeated into the general Venetian populace and ultimately, the papal nuncio warned, “the Venetian government ought to realize that to allow so much freedom to Germans in the middle of the city is to nurture a viper in their own bosom.”⁹⁷ Although the Republic of Venice did not openly condone heretical behavior within the city or German *fondaco*, regime officials tended to prioritize mercantile interests over questions of orthodoxy. This unofficial and opportunistic leniency shielded German ‘heretics’ in Venice from open persecution by papal officials.

Venice’s second residential mercantile *fondaco* was established in late sixteenth century to accommodate ‘Turkish’ merchants from the Ottoman Empire.⁹⁸ Although Muslim dietary prohibitions and fear of the Roman Inquisition dissuaded most Muslim Ottomans from directly engaging in trade in Catholic lands, the Venetian Republic maintained a privileged diplomatic relationship with the Ottoman Empire. Despite intermittent military conflicts, trade agreements brokered between Venice and the Sultan offered Ottoman merchants a degree of diplomatic protection while also securing

⁹⁷ For the report of the papal nuncio of Venice c.1578-1581, see Pullan and Chambers, *Venice: A Documentary History*, 330-331.

⁹⁸ Cemal Kafadar, “A Death in Venice (1575): Anatolian Muslim Merchants Trading in the Serenissima,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 10 (1986): 191-218; Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 23-38; Benjamin Ravid, “A Tale of Three Cities and their Raison d’Etat: Ancona, Venice, Livorno, and the Competition for Jewish Merchants in the Sixteenth Century,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 6, Issue 2 (1991-2): 138-162; Jonathan Karp, *The Politics of Jewish Commerce: Economic Ideology and Emancipation in Europe, 1638-1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

Venice's role as a terminus for Levantine trade.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the presence of Muslim merchants in Venice became an increasing source of anxiety after the celebratory riots following the Venetian naval victory against the Ottoman Empire during the Battle of Lepanto (1571).

In 1571, anti-Ottoman aggressions incited young Venetian men to verbally assault Turkish merchants and vandalize their property. As international conflicts escalated between the Catholic Holy League and the Ottomans, Venetian residents decried the presence of Ottoman 'infidel' merchants who were accused of engaging in sexual transgressions committed against Christian woman and young boys.¹⁰⁰ As the vilification and victimization of Turkish merchants escalated, a Venetian resident of Greek origin, Francesco Dimitri di Litino, proposed a solution to the Venetian Senate in the fall of 1574.¹⁰¹ Moved by an "immense desire to see his city and *Patria* freed from any sort of scandal, particularly those which are offensive to the Lord God and injurious to the Christian name," Litino recommended that Turks in Venice be forcibly consolidated into a single controlled dwelling (*albergo*) for which he could serve as the custodian.¹⁰² He

⁹⁹ On Venice's longstanding mercantile and diplomatic relationship with the Ottoman Empire, see Pedani Fabris, *In nome del Gran Signore*.

¹⁰⁰ Concina, *Fondaci*; Agostino Sagredo and Federico Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi a Venezia* (Milano: Giuseppe Civelli, 1860).

¹⁰¹ ASV, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, 187, serie II, filze 1, unpagged, dated October 28, 1574. Such proposals by private individuals were common practice in Venice, see Concina, *Fondaci*.

¹⁰² "L'immenso desiderio, che io povero Francesco de Demitri ho sempre havuto di veder questa Ill.ma Città et Patria mia libera da ogni sorte de scandali, massimamente da quelle che con segnalata offesa del Sig.re Iddio, infamia del nome Christiano, et di sono della sua Città, possono occorrere, mi sponso a riveremente esponsersi, et ricordare a Vostra Ser. per peggior gli inconvenienti che alla giornata solleva succedere nella Nazione Turchesca di questa Città, di rubar et condur via garzoni, usar con donne Christiane et esser da molte ove alloggiato rubbati, et assassinati, come ben speso lor Turchi si lamentano." Litino described his proposal as an act of reverence based on his desire to encourage public order for the

described his proposal as parallel to the *funduqs* that, “Turks in their Levantine countries provide for the Christian nation.” Furthermore, he noted, such lodging resembled similar institutions already active in Venice for, “other nations and people in this city,” referring to the German *Fondaco* near the Rialto.¹⁰³

In 1575 a temporary Turkish *fondaco* was established under Litino’s guardianship at the *Osteria dell’Anzolo* in the Venetian neighborhood of San Matteo. Although this location was relatively near the commercial heart of the city, the cramped building did not offer access to canal transportation and the indecorous site was surrounded by houses of ill repute. Moreover, the Senate issued multiple declarations requiring that all Ottoman merchants regardless of their religion reside within the Turkish *fondaco*. However, given the religious, ethnic, linguistic and political antagonisms that existed between Ottoman Persians, Armenians, Bosnians, Greeks and Turks, these consolidation efforts were met with universal contempt. Ottoman merchants frequently disobeyed the mandate to reside inside the *osteria* and civil disputes with locals persisted.¹⁰⁴ In one formal complaint from May 1579, the Turkish merchants described the antagonisms between Ottoman Greeks,

common good. At the same time, he lamented how his own family was impoverished after two of his nephews were taken hostage in the War for Candia with the Turks. The effect of Litino’s personal biography in managing the *fondaco* deserves further investigation considering the deep-rooted tensions between Greeks and Ottomans. Ibid.

¹⁰³ “... come contro di loro sia ottima, et necessaria deliberatione il provedere a detta natione turchescha di va lor ridotto et Albergo particular, come hanno molte altre natione, et genti in questa Città, et come anco lor Turchi nelli loro paesi di Levante han provisto alla Natione Christiana, al qual albergo venendo loro in questa Città debbano subitamente ridursi, star, et sui habitar sin al partir suo, qual loro albergo su governato et custodito se cosi a VS piacerà per me.” Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Despite sophisticated diplomatic channels linking the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman Empire, the Senate repeatedly expressed a fundamental lack of sensitivity regarding the complex nature of Ottoman subjecthood. Natalie Rothman, *Brokering Empire: Trans-Imperial Subjects between Venice and Istanbul* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 2012).

Bosnians and Turks and they warned the Venetian Republic that attempts to enforce collective housing of these peoples with different religions and customs would “without a doubt produce much blood.”¹⁰⁵

The Venetian magistrates of *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* did not heed these warnings and in the seventeenth century renewed their efforts to impose a single residential *fondaco* on all Ottomans subjects. After decades of active debate within the Senate, in 1621 the *Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia* acquired a more suitable location for the Turkish *fondaco* within a medieval palazzo on the Grand Canal.¹⁰⁶ They suggested that the new location was spacious enough to accommodate separate quarters for each nation that comprised the diverse Ottoman Empire. However, even segregated Ottoman cohabitation sparked controversy, and collectively the Persian merchants threatened to emigrate to the Tuscan port of Livorno if they were to be forced to live with Turks under a common roof. Eventually the Republic abandoned these attempts at collective housing and focused on regulation of Muslim Turkish residents, leaving Greeks, Albanians, and others to develop residential neighborhoods freely within the city.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ “Capitolo prima a Vostra Serenissima che la Nationi Nostra de Natolia per niun modo et via non poter stantiar ne albergar insieme con la natio di Gretia, questo è manifesto a tutti, et parimente al nostro felice Imp. ne e remedio alcuno, che se possa accordar li animi n. con quelli di Gretia per molte raggion et cause, alche questo effetto, al npstro felice Imp la provisto, che quando sua maesta va in campo le nostre nationi allogiano molto lontano de quelli di Gretia, et oltra di questo nela Città sempre alloggiemo in diversi fonteg. separata una natione dall'altra, per quando ara ser.ta come pr. assoluto della sua citta con la sua autorità videntene volesse far stantiar in detta hostaria insieme con la Nation de Gretia, et Bosna a benche siano Turchi sotto la religion nostra senza dubbio alcuno nassera gran sangue non solamente con perdita delle vitte dell'una l'altra ma anco della faccilta che noi qui posedemo con eccetto che la piu parte non e m.a ma delli nostri maggiori Sig.ri de Costa.li.” ASV, Secreta, Materie Miste Notabile, b. 55, Serie II, unpagged, dated 2 May 1579.

¹⁰⁶ For more on the regulation of Venetian *fondacos*, see ASV, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, 186; ASV, Cinque Savi alla Mercanzia, 187, serie II; ASV, Compilazione Leggi, 210.

¹⁰⁷ In the late nineteenth century the *palazzo* that housed the *Fondaco dei Turchi* was restored and

[Fig. 2.3] Although the site of the second *Fondaco dei Turchi* was in closer proximity to the Jewish ghetto than to the commercial center at the Rialto, the edifice had a noble lineage as a former residence of the Este Dukes. The multistoried courtyard building featured sleeping quarters, commercial space, and mosques to accommodate the physical and spiritual needs of Turkish merchants. **[Fig. 2.4]** The façade facing the canal featured a large loggia with loading space that was essential for the easy transportation of merchandise. In consultation with Ottoman dragomans, the Republic redesigned the building to accommodate its new purpose. While some alterations responded to the cultural needs of Turkish merchants, others were intended to limit their sphere of influence. For example, alterations to the courtyard and exterior windows offered residents privacy and shielded them from the intrusive gaze of outsiders.¹⁰⁸

However, privacy and protection came at the price of severely restricted mobility. The removal of the decorative twin towers that framed the original palazzo was intended to prevent Turks from spying on the city from a privileged vantage point. Meanwhile, residents were expected to pay rent, observe nightly curfews and comply with security regulations. Christians, women, and weapons were forbidden from entering the building and officials kept detailed records of all incoming and outgoing people and merchandise. Although the consolidation of Turkish merchants, brokers, and translators was fiscally advantageous to Republic, the *fondaco* had an ambivalent if not negative effect on the

converted into a museum. On the urban settlement of Albanians, Greeks, Jews, and other minorities in Venice, see Calabi and Lanaro (eds), *La città italiana e i luoghi degli stranieri XIV-XVIII secolo*.

¹⁰⁸ The *fondaco*'s exterior windows were boarded up in a manner that was similar to the blocked windows of the Jewish ghetto's exterior walls. See Juergen Schulz, "Early Plans of the Fondaco dei Turchi," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 42 (1997): 149-159; Juergen Schulz, "Appendix III: Fondaco dei Turchi," *The New Palaces of Medieval Venice* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2004), 133-163.

quality of life for the merchants inside. In the supplications of residents who pleaded for permission to live outside of the *fondaco*, they cited their physical health as a motivating factor for leaving; such requests suggest that residents had inadequate access to doctors or that life inside the *fondaco* was insalubrious or uncomfortable. In any event, the Turkish *fondaco* stayed in use until it was closed in 1838.¹⁰⁹

Ultimately, the secular leaders of the Venetian Republic sought to manage the economically valuable but morally threatening populations of Jews, Protestants, and Muslims in their city by neutralizing the perceived risks of religious pluralism using the tactics of urban segregation. Moreover, by manipulating the particularities of each minority group's corporate privileges, the Republic was able to capitalize on their presence while justifying this exploitation actions using the theological logic of Catholic *tolerantia*. Thus, while early modern Venice was celebrated for its economic power and cultural cosmopolitanism, the Republic nevertheless pioneered new forms of religious persecution such as the Jewish ghetto. When viewed in this light, the Catholic practice of granting tolerations to particular persecuted groups seems starkly different than the natural rights theory that inspired the Enlightenment notion of universal toleration. However, long before philosophes theorized toleration as an abstract virtue, religious pluralism existed as a practice.

Whether implemented in top-down legislation or practiced unofficially, pragmatic forms of religious toleration emerged in post-Tridentine Italy despite the climate of

¹⁰⁹ In the nineteenth century the last Turkish resident fought to stay inside the *fondaco*. However, by this time the building was in a dangerous state of disrepair. Sagredo and Berchet, *Il Fondaco dei Turchi a Venezia*.

Catholic dogma that officially prescribed persecution. By the late sixteenth century these mercantilist experiments led Catholic political thinkers, including the Jesuit Giovanni Botero, to concede that certain religious tolerations could be justified if they served larger economic or diplomatic reasons of state, or “*ragion di stato*.”¹¹⁰ Botero and his Catholic contemporaries recognized the utility of religious toleration, but they envisioned such indulgences as temporary, limited, and revocable. As Francesco Trivellato has observed, “nowhere in Europe ... can we trace a linear correlation between mercantilist policies of toleration and the legal and social acceptance of Jews.”¹¹¹ As historians of pluralistic societies try to distinguish between deliberate acts of toleration and passive acts of indifference, they must also question to what extent such actions did or did not foster a more generalized attitude or ideology of cosmopolitan tolerance.

While the accommodation of religious minorities in Catholic Ancona, Ferrara, and Venice offers insight into the dialectical nature of toleration and persecution, the remaining chapters of this dissertation highlight how religious pluralism in the Tuscan port of Livorno epitomized the tolerant logic of enlightened self-interest. Although the Medicean experiment in Livorno began as another iteration of the medieval logic of *tolerantia*, the unique conditions surrounding the creation of a city and society *ex novo* led the regime to embrace a leniency towards non-Catholics that was distinct from the highly

¹¹⁰ Giovanni Botero, *Delle cause della grandezza delle città* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1588); See also Romain Descendre, *L'État du Monde: Giovanni Botero entre raison d'État et géopolitique* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009); Robert Bireley, “Giovanni Botero: Founder of the Tradition: 1589,” *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990).

¹¹¹ Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 99-100.

regulated urban segregation of Venice. Indeed, when contextualized within the intellectual and social history of Early Modern Europe and the Mediterranean, the practice of religious pluralism in early modern Livorno represented a conceptual and physical frontier for toleration that deserves closer inspection.

III. POPULATING A “NEST OF PIRATES, MURDERERS, ETC.”: ASYLUM, TOLERATION, AND *RAGION DI STATO* IN THE FREE PORT OF LIVORNO

Harbor of Livorno

[Fig. 3.1] Amidst the studious silence of the state archive of Pisa, a moderately sized painting introduces viewers to the animated harbor of mid-seventeenth-century Livorno. Attributed alternatively to the Tuscan artist Pietro Ciafferi (1600-1654) or to the school of the Dutch artist Cornelius De Weal (1592-1667), *Harbor of Livorno with the Galleys of the Order of Saint Stefano* offers a visual compendium of the people and activities that fueled the early modern port, and in so doing, salvaged the maritime economy of the Tuscan Duchy.¹ With allegorical figures encircling the Medici stemma in the sky above, a flurry of activity unfolds along the edge of Livorno’s crowded central harbor, just outside the city’s southwest gate called the Porta Colonella. A group of European aristocrats poses in the central foreground of the painting surrounding a bearded man whose black garments are emblazoned with the red cross of the Knights of the Tuscan Military Naval Order of St. Stephen.² Several of these men turn to address the viewer, flanked to their left by a militia regiment with raised harquebuses and to their right by a regiment carrying spikes and processing to the beat of a drum.

¹ This painting entered the collection of the State Archive of Pisa in the 1980s as an anonymous work. It was first attributed to the Tuscan artist Pietro Ciafferi, known as ‘*lo Smargiasso*.’ In 2006, the art historian Franco Paliaga re-attributed the work to the Dutch artist Cornelius de Weal. Franco Paliaga, *Livorno nel Seicento: il porto, le navi, il mare i disegni degli artisti toscani e i dipinti di Pietro Ciafferi* (Livorno: Felici Editore, 2006), 52.

² The aristocratic status of these men is evident in their clothing and swords. They were likely the patrons of the painting. The man wearing a red sash across his shoulder was likely Livorno’s acting *gonfaloniere*, or the standard-bearer, for city’s communal government. Livorno’s ruling class of *100 Cittadini* included eligible *gonfaloniere* and *anziani* whose roles were established in 1606 and whose dress was regulated in legislation from 1616. For legislation regarding the designated dress for Livorno’s *gonfaloniere*, see Paolo Castignoli, “Gli emblemi di Livorno città: arme, sigillo e gonfalone,” *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* XIII (2006): 13-30.

As dockworkers unload merchandise and peddlers display their wares, merchants of diverse origins mingle amidst the harbor's frenzied activity. Exempt from most sumptuary laws restricting dress in other Tuscan cities, the colorful garments of turbaned Levantine merchants, likely Armenians, juxtapose with the sober dress of Europeans. While a number of black African slaves pepper the scene, mustached men from the Levant perch on the picture's frame, their small tufts of hair advertising their status as Turkish galley slaves. As one man bends to mend a garment, another leisurely smokes a pipe, his plume testifying to the rising demand for New World tobacco.³ In the extreme background, a religious procession interrupts the economic activity of the harbor as a confraternity of men in white robes approaches an altar erected near the anchored galleons. While two dancing entertainers and a monkey offer an air of frivolity, Livorno's harbor is portrayed as a male-dominated sphere catering primarily to commerce and war.⁴ Although the dynamism, diversity, and pageantry animating the *Harbor of Livorno* draws on visual tropes common within scenes depicting early modern Venice or Amsterdam, Livorno's participation in this maritime cosmopolitanism is remarkable considering that roughly fifty years before the painting was executed, the port was little more than a sparsely populated malarial backwater.

³ The smoking men may also allude to the circulation of illegal opium within the port. In 1594, Livorno's Governor Giovanni Volterra acted on the orders of the Grand Duke and forbid apothecaries from selling opium to slaves and forced laborers. See ASF, MP, 1814, f. 73. See also Paolo Castignoli (ed.), *L'arte degli speziali a Livorno nell'età medicea* (Livorno: Cooperative edile Risorgimento, 1989).

⁴ There is only one clearly identifiable woman and child in the scene.

Livorno before the *Livornine*

The bustling port of seventeenth-century Livorno remained an unlikely vision when the Republic of Florence first purchased the small medieval fishing village from Genoa in 1421.⁵ As described in chapter one, the swampy territory struggled to maintain a population of roughly 500 when Medici Duke Cosimo I de' Medici revived interest in developing the commercial potential of the region. After the silting of Pisa's harbor crippled Tuscan maritime activity, the Medici regime urgently sought to construct and populate a new seaport within the malaria-infested coastline southwest of Pisa. Given the region's insalubrious conditions and total lack of urban infrastructure, the Tuscan Duchy was compelled to make significant capital investments and offer persuasive incentives to attract potential immigrants to Livorno's new port.

Although late seventeenth century Livorno was celebrated for its religious diversity and modern urban planning, the port was first known as an insalubrious colony populated by social outcasts, violent criminals, famished peasants, renegade pirates, and Turkish and Moorish slaves. Efforts to populate Livorno's harbor began under Duke Cosimo I, who experimented with attractive and coercive immigration policies ranging from the voluntary asylum offered to religious refugees and debtors to the forced residency imposed on convicts and galley slaves. Under Cosimo's leadership the regime offered tax exemptions and social protections in the hopes of attracting skilled laborers, merchants, and maritime workers to the insalubrious port. Although Duke Cosimo's inconsistent incentives failed to attract mass voluntary immigration to Livorno, these

⁵ In 1421, the Florentine Republic was under the *de facto* leadership of Cosimo de' Medici the Elder. Florentine access to the sea was frequently interrupted by Pisa's rebellion against Florentine hegemony.

initiatives harnessed the cheap labor of convicts, slaves, and peasants whose physical exertion prepared the port's urban infrastructure for future development. Moreover, Cosimo's demographic experiments from 1547-1574 established a pattern of religious, legal, and economic exceptionalism in Livorno that came to fruition with the later success of Duke Ferdinando's 1591/1593 *Livornine* legislation.

Immigration Policy and *Ragion di Stato*

In formulating immigration and economic policy in Livorno, the Medici regime drew from a long tradition of rulers who offered financial incentives to draw investors and settlers to a developing region. As described in chapter two, tax exemptions and rights of safe passage were issued to stimulate economic development in Ancona, Ferrara, and Venice.⁶ In these Italian cities, Catholic princes offered privileges to attract the capital of marginalized or persecuted non-Christian groups, namely merchants of the Sephardic Jewish diaspora and Muslim traders of the Maghreb. Such guarantees were intended to facilitate the integration of merchants into competitive markets by securing property rights and offering protection from excessive taxation. However, these proclamations and letters patent were notoriously unreliable and could be revoked with the shifting of political or economic tides. Although Pope Paul III's protections for Jewish and other non-Catholic merchants in the Adriatic port of Ancona set a critical papal precedent for the Catholic use of mercantile tolerations, these promises proved fickle in the wake of post-Tridentine reforms. Likewise, the logic of economic pragmatism led the Venetian Republic to offer concessions to Sephardic and Levantine

⁶ See chapter two for comparative discussion of mercantile tolerations in Ancona, Ferrara, and Venice.

Jews in the 1589 Charter for Jewish Merchants; however, all Jewish residents in Venice were nonetheless subjected to the humiliating restrictions imposed them through the urban segregation of the Jewish *ghetto*. While the circumscribed *tolerantia* for non-Catholics in Ancona and Venice helped legitimize Medici immigration policy in Livorno, the strategies for recruiting and managing foreigners and religious minorities within established Italian cities were very different than the radical tactics of inclusion necessary to build a society from scratch.

[Fig. 3.2] While architectural historians recognize that rationalist principals governed Livorno's centrally planned pentagonal urban design, demographic historians note that the port's extraordinary population growth after 1591 bucked the stagnant demographic trend elsewhere in Italy. [Figs. 1.1, 3.3, 3.4] However, despite these curious features of Livorno's early development, social and cultural historians have largely relegated the port's sixteenth century history to minor footnote while focusing increasing attention on the merchant elites who comprised Livorno's mature seventeenth century economy. As a result, scholars have not assessed the full spectrum of material, political, diplomatic, and demographic conditions that led to the Medici regime to embrace religious toleration in Livorno as a state-endorsed settlement strategy in the first place.

The effort to design, build, and populate an entirely new city was an exceedingly rare undertaking within the context of sixteenth century continental Europe.⁷ The

⁷ The creation of new cities was particularly unusual in early modern Italy given the region's slowing economy. For a comparative demographic and urban history of Europe, see Peter Clark, *European Cities and Towns 400-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009); Alexander Cohen, *Urban Europe, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998). For analysis of Florentine new towns constructed in medieval Tuscany, see David Friedman, *Florentine New Towns: Urban Design in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1988). For analysis of the military urbanism informing early modern fortress

enterprise required a conjunction of skills and resources, including an effective leader to assert political and military control over the territory, engineers and architects to design fortifications and intelligent infrastructure, and an effective arm of government to manage free and forced construction labor. While considerable resources were required to plan a new town of domestic purpose, the creation of an international port intended to welcome foreigners and religious minorities required an additional element of diplomatic finesse, particularly within the tense climate of post-Tridentine Italy. Faced with the unlikely odds of achieving demographic success, the Medici regime was forced to be at the vanguard of late sixteenth century immigration policy which embraced religious, fiscal, and criminal asylum as the proper tools for managing commercial cities.

The positive correlation between religious toleration, fiscal asylum, and early modern demographic growth was articulated in the late sixteenth century in a series of widely read treatises by the Italian priest, political philosopher, and diplomat Giovanni Botero (c. 1544-1617). Botero is often credited as being the first proto-Malthusian urban demographer due to his proto-social scientific ideas on the nutritive qualities of the city expressed in *On the Cause and Greatness of Cities* (1588). In addition, he is recognized for his anti-Machiavellian political philosophy that sought to moralize the principals guiding *ragion di stato*, which stated that a ruler's end goal could justify the necessary means.⁸ As articulated in *The Reason of State* (1589) and *Universal Relations* (1595),

cities including Palmanova and Valletta (in Malta) see Martha Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁸ Giovanni Botero, *Delle cause della grandezza delle città* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1588). See also Romain Descendre, *L'État du Monde: Giovanni Botero entre raison d'État et géopolitique* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 2009); Robert Bireley, "Giovanni Botero: Founder of the Tradition: 1589," *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe*

Botero was a vocal advocate for post-Tridentine Catholic Empire who maintained that a ruler was morally obliged to enforce religious orthodoxy among his subjects. However, as a proto-social scientist, Botero also recognized that Catholic rulers could be driven by pragmatic fiscal considerations to grant sanctuary or asylum to religious minorities and criminal offenders. Botero's articulation of Catholic *racion di stato* attempted to reconcile the conflicting demands of the global economy and post-Tridentine Catholic orthodoxy; for this reason his ideas are central to understanding the Medici regime's treatment of non-Catholics in Livorno.

From Duke Cosimo I's early efforts to recruit Portuguese *marranos* and Greek refugees to the comprehensive incentive structure of Duke Ferdinando's 1591/93 *Livornine*, this chapter examines how the Medici regime's toleration for marginalized populations emerged from the accumulation of piecemeal, experimental, and increasingly desperate demographic strategies. Although Livorno's liberal economic and religious policies built upon a long tradition of settlement privileges used in cities throughout Italy and the Mediterranean, the tactics of religious, fiscal, and criminal asylum were intended to be temporary, limited, and revocable privileges. However, as a frontier zone built and populated *ex novo*, the unrestrained implementation of these strategies in Livorno resulted in a radical reordering of social dynamics. As Livorno developed into both a haven for criminals and a "promised land" for Jews, seventeenth-century contemporaries

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); John M. Headley, "Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance: Botero's Assignment, Western Universalism, and the Civilizing Process," *Renaissance Quarterly* 52 (2000): 1119-55; Andrew Fitzmaurice, "The Commercial Ideology of Colonization in Jacobean England: Robert Johnson, Giovanni Botero, and the Pursuit of Greatness," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 64, No. 4 (2007): 791-820.

expressed ambivalence about the port's *de facto* toleration. Nonetheless, the demographic efficacy of these policies was undeniable, prompting Englishman Edward Chamberlayne to declare in 1683 that, "of a Nest of Pirates, Murtherers, &c. who formerly Inhabited it, [Livorno has] become famous throughout the World."⁹

Formation of the Tuscan Duchy

Livorno's transformation began amidst Duke Cosimo I's ambitious campaign to politically and territorially consolidate the Tuscan Duchy. Consequently, immigration policies in the port evolved according to the domestic and foreign policy goals that determined the regime's *ragion di stato* during the early formation of the state.

Over the course of a few turbulent decades in the early sixteenth century, the Medici family was transformed from a lineage of powerful Florentine bankers into a royal dynasty of hereditary rulers. Throughout the process, the parvenu Dukes of Tuscany had become deeply indebted to the political and military support of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰ Emperor Charles V was instrumental in bringing about the fall of the last Florentine republic in 1530, when Clement VII's illegitimate son, Alessandro de' Medici, was declared the first Duke of Florence (1531). Imperial approval was again critical following Alessandro's assassination in 1537, when Duke Cosimo I was plucked from an

⁹ Edward Chamberlayne, "Chapter LXXIV: A View of Leghorn," *The present state of England containing ... the trade and commerce within itself, and with all countries traded to by the English, as at this day established, and all other matters relating to inland and marine affairs* (London: William Whitwood, 1683), 225.

¹⁰ Amidst the turbulent foreign invasions of the late fifteenth-century Italian Wars the patriarch Piero de' Medici had adopted a staunchly pro-Imperial anti-French policy. Although this initially contributed to the family's 1494 exile as the *de facto* leaders of the Florentine Republic, in subsequent decades Medicean allegiance to Spanish and Imperial powers proved richly rewarding. See Furio Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana* (Torino: UTET, 1976), 158-162; John N. Stephens, *The Fall of the Florentine Republic 1512-1530* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 54-55 and 166-167.

alternative bloodline of the Medici family and elected by the Florentine Senate to be the successor. With anti-Medicean sentiment simmering amongst the exiles beyond Florence's city walls and the new Farnese Pope Paul III coveting Florence for his own family, Cosimo faced the daunting challenge of legitimizing Medici rule, enforcing the obedience of his subjects, and reaffirming loyalty and obedience to his Imperial protector.¹¹

Expectations for Cosimo's political success were initially quite low, but the young ruler proved unyieldingly in his efforts to legitimize his parvenu dynasty, consolidate Tuscan territory, and secure the duchy's relative autonomy as a centralized absolutist state.¹² Although the Florentine Senate had chosen Cosimo because they believed the governing council could easily manipulate the young eighteen-year-old, this presumption proved to be grossly inaccurate. Immediately upon assuming power, the Cosimo defended his title by suppressing rebel forces at the Battle of Montemurlo during an attempted *coup d'état* (1537). This military prowess convinced Emperor Charles V to grant Cosimo the hereditary royal title of Duke of Florence, and in 1539 the Duke's

¹¹ Elena Fasano Guarini, *Lo stato mediceo di Cosimo I* (Firenze: Sansoni, 1973); Elena Fasano Guarini, *L'Italia moderna e la Toscana dei principi* (Milano: Le Monnier, 2008); Elena Fasano Guarini and Paolo Volpini (eds), *Frontiere di terra, frontiere di mare: La Toscana moderna nello spazio mediterraneo* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2008).

¹² The emergence of regional states in late medieval and early modern Italy has been subject to a historical reappraisal that complicates Jacob Burckhardt's notion of the state as a work of art. In the late 1960s, scholars including Federico Chabod emphasized how the emergence of impersonal central bureaucracies in Italy signaled the centralization of power. Although some historians were aware of the particularism that governed the overlapping power structures in oligarchic and feudal Italy, many nonetheless followed a Weberian logic and sought to link administrative centralization with the rise of modern state. Subsequent historians, namely Giorgio Chittolini, refuted the "modern state" hypothesis by arguing that the centralization of administrative bureaucracy into regional states was not the same as the centralization of power. For discussion see Julius Kirshner, "The State is Back 'In'," in Julius Kirshner (ed.), *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300-1600* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 1-10; Elena Fasano Guarini, "Center and Periphery," in Kirshner, *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300-1600*, 74-96.

newly minted ducal bloodline was reinforced through his wedding to the daughter of the Spanish viceroy of Naples, Eleonora of Toledo. Despite the increasing political stability of the Tuscan duchy, the nagging presence of restless Imperial troops garrisoned in Florence's Fortezza da Basso served as a reminder of Tuscany's uneasy dependence upon their Imperial protector. Finally, in 1543 the Emperor was badly in need of cash following a defeat in the Bay of Algiers; consequently, he relinquished the Imperial military presence in Tuscany and allowed Duke Cosimo to purchase control over the Tuscan fortresses located in Florence and the harbor of Livorno.¹³

Cosimo used military and diplomatic channels to expand Tuscan territorial holdings through the conquest and annexation of Pisa and Siena (1555) in addition to smaller towns and rural *contados*. Nonetheless, sixteenth-century Tuscany was not a geographically contiguous territory with clearly defined political borders.¹⁴ Rather, the Duchy's patchwork of subject states operated under distinct local administrations with unequal and cautiously guarded privileges.¹⁵ Despite the overlapping political, fiscal, and

¹³ The Emperor was badly in need of cash following the defeat in the Bay of Algiers and the renewal of war with the French.

¹⁴ As was common in states of early modern Europe, the geographic borders of the Tuscan Duchy defied natural topographic barriers such as the Apennine Mountains. Moreover, Tuscany's political borders did not necessarily correspond with economic tax borders or religious ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which were arguably of greater concern to the daily lives of early modern people. Anna Maria Quaglia, "Early Modern Tuscany: 'Regional' Borders and Internal Boundaries," *Frontiers, Regions, and Identities in Europe* (Pisa: Pisa University Press, 2009), 129-142.

¹⁵ Special privileges were often granted to cities at the time of their subjugation, some of which had endured since the formation of Italy's medieval city-states. Carlo Marco Belfanti, "Town and Country in Central and Northern Italy, 1400-1800" in Steven Epstein (ed.), *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 292-315.

ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Tuscany's uneven geography of power, Cosimo sought to implement a regional approach towards governing his newly territorialized state.¹⁶

Officially, the Florentine state (*Stato Antico*) remained structurally independent from the annexed Sienese state (*Stato Nuovo*) and the local institutions of subject cities were allowed to continue functioning. In practice, however, Tuscany's newly acquired territories underwent a bureaucratic transformation. Cosimo centralized the administrative and fiscal machinery of the Duchy to better control taxation and the system of justice.¹⁷ He appointed economic (1543) and administrative (1560) chancellors from Florence's central offices to survey the work of local administrations.¹⁸ By fostering

¹⁶ Cosimo's patrimonial state was a coherent regional system governed from the Florentine capital. Even so, Elena Fasano Guarini has argued that early modern Tuscany was neither an aggregation nor a centralized state in the modern sense. Although the central authority of the prince was strong, Guarini dismisses the binary opposition between 'center' and 'periphery' and instead highlights multiple, overlapping horizontal and vertical ties continued to exist between the ruler and the various communities. Elena Fasano Guarini, "Potere centrale e comunità soggette nel Granducato di Cosimo I," *L'Italia moderna e la Toscana dei principi*, 177-220.

¹⁷ Duke Cosimo encouraged the standardization of administrative data by requiring that notaries submit their ledgers to the state archives on a yearly basis. Florence's arm of criminal justice, the Eight or *Otto di Guardia e Balìa*, had existed since 1379 to maintain public order. Under Cosimo's influence, the jurisdictional authority of the Eight was expanded to include all criminal matters of state importance. Cosimo modified laws and penalties to ensure that the *Otto* conducted surveillance over all criminal matters while reporting their activities to the Duke. These efforts aimed to curb banditry and urban violence in addition to monitoring aristocratic feuding and fraudulence. The *Otto* were also responsible for monitoring relations between Florence's Christian and Jewish populations, a task which became more explicit after the establishment of Florence's Jewish ghetto in 1571. John Brackett, *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence, 1537-1609* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

¹⁸ The role of the *Auditore Fiscali* was established in 1543 to conduct economic audits throughout the state. In 1560, the administrative body of the *Nove Conservatori del Commune* was put in charge of monitoring the local administrations in Tuscan subject territories. After 1572, the *Nove* was also responsible for governing the Jewish ghetto in Florence, which was administered like a subject territory. Guarini, *L'Italia moderna e la Toscana dei principi*, 177-220.

an administrative class of government bureaucrats, the Duke used his personal influence to ensure that regime loyalists were placed in high administrative positions.¹⁹

Cosimo used large-scale public building and infrastructure projects as a means to assert and publicize his newly consolidated power. While a frenzy of building activity in the Florentine capital asserted the cultural prominence of the new regime, infrastructural and urban interventions in Tuscany's outlying territories proved critical in securing the state's political, military, and economic future.²⁰ After assuming control of local militias, the Duke initiated construction on a network of regional fortresses strategically located throughout the Duchy. These fortification projects stretched from the Tuscan town of Fivizzano, near the northwest border with Genoa, to the city of Siena, positioned at the southwestern border with the Papal States. Similar efforts were made to reinforce new and existing fortifications in Florence, Pisa, Volterra, Cortona, Arezzo, Piombino, San Sepolcro, Empoli, Lucignano, Montecarlo, Scarperia, Pistoia, Prato, and Livorno.

Cosimo's military victories, territorial conquests, and city construction efforts were celebrated in visual propaganda throughout the Florentine capital. Amidst the frenzied building activity for the decoration of Palazzo Vecchio's Sala di Cosimo I, the Duke explicitly instructed court artist Giorgio Vasari to design a decorative schema that included frescoes, "in which you see all our states together, to indicate the enlargement

¹⁹ Ibid. Nonetheless, the yearly visits made by state auditors to oversee the proposed fiscal budgets and legislative statutes of Tuscan subject territories were often met with local resistance.

²⁰ In the 1560s and 1570s, Giorgio Vasari oversaw a team of artists and architects responsible for the sumptuous interior renovation of Florence's Palazzo Vecchio, the enlargement of Palazzo Pitti, and the construction of the Uffizi administrative offices.

and acquisition.”²¹ [Fig. 3.5] The visual program incorporated city views depicting Tuscan territories in both narrative scenes and small cartouches, such as that of Livorno executed by Giovanni Stradano. [Fig. 3.6] The room also featured a painted *tondo* that depicted Duke Cosimo encircled by his court artists, architects, and military engineers.²² The ten figures surrounding the Duke included the court artists Ammanati, Bandinelli, Cellini, Tribolo, Tasso, and Vasari, the military architects and engineers Belluzzi, Fortini, and Unghero, and the administrative official Francesco di Ser Jacopo, who oversaw fortified military castles in his capacity as the *Provveditore del Castello*. Visual propaganda such as this memorialized Cosimo’s efforts to consolidate the Tuscan state and highlighted the centrality that urban planning and military architecture had in achieving this goal.²³

Cosimo’s Maritime Ambitions: Cosmopolis (Portoferraio) and Livorno

Cosimo’s efforts to centralize the military, political, and fiscal operations of his Duchy revealed an awareness that the future autonomy of the Tuscan State depended upon reviving its naval and commercial maritime operations. In 1542, the Duke

²¹ Cosimo rejected Vasari’s first proposal for the decoration of the Sala Grande and requested instead that “si vedesse tutti li Stati Nostri insieme, a denotare l’ampliacione e l’acquisto.” Vasari text quoted by Lucia Nuti, “Le città di Palazzo Vecchio a Firenze,” *Città e Storia* I, no. 2 (2006): 345-358.

²² Gregg emphasizes how these city views linked Medici dynastic history with efforts towards contemporary surveillance and future projects. He argues that the organizational arrangement of the scenes within the room corresponded with a geographic sense of the dominant fortresses and their relative location within the defensible borders of the Tuscan Duchy. Ryan Gregg, “Panorama, Power, and History: Vasari and Stradano’s City Views in the Palazzo Vecchio.” PhD dissertation (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2008).

²³ The multifaceted nature of military planning required the expertise of doctors, engineers, and hydraulic experts. This was emphasized in military architecture treatises of the time, such as Francesco de Marchi’s posthumously published treatise, *Della architettura militare* (Brescia, 1599); Scotti Tosini (ed.), *Storia dell’Architettura Italiana: Il Seicento* (Milano: Mondadori Electa, 2003); Pollak, *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*.

introduced galley service into Tuscany's penal system in order to provide the Tuscan navy with the manpower necessary to row the oared galley boats that traversed the Mediterranean Sea. In this same year, Medici agents were sent to slave markets across the Mediterranean to purchase hundreds of Turkish and North African galley slaves.²⁴ By 1547, the Duke had financed the construction of new galley ships in the Arsenal of Pisa.²⁵ To compensate for Tuscany's lack of native maritime expertise, Cosimo instructed Medici agents in Ottoman territories to actively recruit Greek sailors and ship captains for employment in the Tuscan navy.²⁶ In Livorno, the Duke began renovating the defensive fortress protecting the harbor, la Fortezza Vecchia. Meanwhile, he negotiated with Emperor Charles V in the hope of gaining control over the Island of Elba and mainland port of Piombino.

Although the regime invested in the maritime infrastructural apparatus in Pisa and Livorno, Duke Cosimo initially envisioned that the Elba-Piombino coastal axis would serve as the base for a renewed Tuscan maritime empire. The island of Elba offered a strategic position to protect the Tuscan coast against Turkish pirate raids. Moreover, the region was rich in natural iron resources and the Duke hoped to capitalize on its iron mining potential. **[Fig. 3.7]** As commemorated in Vasari's fresco, *Cosimo Visits the*

²⁴ See chapter five for discussion of Cosimo's vigorous efforts to acquire slaves for galleys. ASF, MP, 638, folios 177, 199, and 253; ASF, MP, 187, folios 6, 16, 30, 35, 38, and 39 and ASF, MP, 13, folios 36, 70, 184, and 425.

²⁵ For discussion and archival transcriptions relating to the Pisan Arsenal under the Medici, see Franco Angiolini, "L'arsenale mediceo: la politica marittima dei Medici e le vicende dell'arsenale di Pisa," in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 176-197.

²⁶ Dorian Popova dell'Agata, "Greci e Slavi in alcuni tentativi popolazionistici dei primi granduchi di Toscana," *Europa Orientalis* 8 (1989): 105-115.

Fortifications of Portoferraio, in 1548 the Duke initiated construction on a new fortified city on the site of Elba's harbor of Portoferraio.²⁷ The new city was ceremoniously renamed Cosmopolis in honor of the Duke, and the regime offered tax incentives for immigrants willing to reside in the developing region.²⁸ However, Cosimo's ambitions in the region were soon thwarted. Although a 1552 treaty between the Duke and his cousin, Jacopo Aragona Appiano, briefly conceded the island of Elba and state of Piombino to the Medici, by 1557 this treaty was nullified. Although Cosimo maintained control over his fortified town of Cosmopolis, the rest of the island of Elba was placed under the control of the Spanish viceroys of Naples as the *Stato dei Presidi*. The Tuscan Duchy was reduced to leasing the region's iron mines without having political control over the dominion. As the Medici's aspirations for Cosmopolis were downscaled significantly, the insalubrious harbor of Livorno became the primary focus of efforts to revive Tuscan maritime power.

Religious Asylum Under Cosimo: The Lure of Sephardim

In a series of semi-secret letters patent from 1545-51, Cosimo sought to capitalize on the increasingly brutal Portuguese Inquisition by offering safe passage to Iberian refugees and Portuguese 'New Christians' willing to settle and conduct business in the

²⁷ Vasari's composition depicts Duke Cosimo inspecting Portoferraio's fortifications from a distance while holding the master plan for the new city. Standing beside the Duke is the architect Giovanni Camerini, Pisa's *Provveditore* administrative official Luca Martini, the Ducal secretary Lorenzo Pagni, and the court dwarf named Morgante. For a detailed analysis of this painting see Gregg, "Panorama, Power, and History," 138 and 252-3; fresco mentioned in Bacio Baldini, *Vita di Cosimo I.* (Firenze: Sermartelli, 1578), 70.

²⁸ Giuseppe Battaglini, *Cosmopolis: Portoferraio medicea. storia urbana 1548-1737* (Rome: 1978); Amelio Fara, *Portoferraio: Architettura ed urbanistica, 1548-1877* (Torino: Edizioni della Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1997); Roberta Martinelli and Lucia Nuti (eds), *Le città di fondazione: Atti del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Storia Urbanistica, 7-11 Settembre 1977* (Lucca: CISCU, 1978).

port of Livorno or city of Pisa.²⁹ Cosimo emulated papal policy in Ancona by first inviting the *Cristãos-novos* on the condition that they would conform outwardly to the Catholic religion.³⁰ The Duke extended personal invitations *ad personam* to key members of the Portuguese trading Diaspora, and in 1548 a Medici agent was sent to Rome to secretly liaise with Portuguese merchants.³¹ These clandestine recruitment efforts led Cosimo to issue more a generalized invitation for all Portuguese New Christians in January of 1549.

Although Duke Cosimo's 1549 letters patent did not explicitly protect Jewish immigrants to Tuscany, safe conduct was extended to, "all those of those born in, derived from or residents of the cities and places of Lusitania—or as is called today, Portugal."³² Moreover, an appeal to crypto-Jewish émigrés was shallowly coded in the letter's rhetorical praise for the benefits of religious tolerance:

For the ... moral and civil promotion of society ... we insist in inviting persons of foreign nationalities into our dominions, granting them immunity and safe conduct and removing from above the oppressions that

²⁹ See chapter two for discussion of the Iberian expulsions.

³⁰ Renzo Toaff dismisses the possibility that this letter constituted an invitation for immigrants to return privately to Judaism. Renzo Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa 1591-1700* (Firenze: Olschki Editore, 1990), 35.

³¹ In 1545, Duke Cosimo tried to recruit the merchant Diego Mendes who had resettled in Antwerp. In 1547, the Duke extended an invitation to the Portuguese merchant, Sebastiano Pinto, "and six others of his nation" to settle in Florence. In 1548, Pedro di Salamanca was sent to Rome to recruit Portuguese merchants on behalf of the Tuscan Duchy. Fernando Mendes assisted in the juridical formation of the 1549 privilege. Lucia Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori del ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2008), 18-19.

³² ASF, Miscellanea Medicea, 23, ins. 11, dated January 15, 1548 ab. Inc. (1549). For a Latin transcription of this privilege, see Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Gli ebrei, il principe, e l'Inquisizione," in Michele Luzzati (ed.), *Gli ebrei e l'Inquisizione* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1997), 217-231. For an Italian translation of the document, see Paolo Castignoli, Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, and Maria Lia Papi (eds), *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città: studi di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 2001), 82-83.

are at times a threat to immigrants, *even in the event of questions of orthodoxy*.³³

Cosimo boldly offered Portuguese immigrants immunity from any “inquisition, examination, denouncement for heresy, act of blasphemy, apostasy, or for other crimes of faith ... now or in the future.”³⁴ In addition, the Latin document included a candid admonition against the misguided nature of religious persecution and forcible conversion:

[These oppressions] are even more damaging than they are removed from Christian love: we are, in fact, convinced that it is more fruitful for the promotion of the cult of our highest God ... if we bring volunteer soldiers to pay voluntary respect to the highest king with the docility, sweetness, and the practice of correct rapport, instead of compelling it with terror and violence.³⁵

Cosimo’s 1549 letter promised Portuguese immigrants full immunity for crimes committed outside of the Tuscan dominion (i.e. living as crypto-Jews) and specified that all denunciations not made within 20 days of their arrival would be annulled. Although these privileges were declared to be resolutely, “firm, inviolable, and unalterable,” several clauses compensated for the Duke’s inability to unconditionally protect *marranos* who faced charges from the Roman Inquisition.³⁶ In the event that the immigrants did become involved in a civil or criminal proceeding, Cosimo outlawed secret imprisonment and promised recourse to a defense lawyer and proper judge. In the effort to maintain the neutrality of the court, the 1549 document banned judicial testimony from prejudiced parties and offered the Portuguese *nazione* a state-appointed consul to arbitrate on their

³³ Emphasis added. Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

behalf. The document included provisions that assured that infamy charges would not pass to an offender's progeny and that inheritance rights would remain secure, both for legitimate 'Catholic' heirs and for "all relatives that have the possibility to become legitimate."³⁷

Subsequent clauses detailed immigrants' property rights, exempted them from exploitative forced loans or military service, and assured their right to keep Christian servants and practice money changing. As an additional measure of security Cosimo promised a yearlong stay of protection in the event that the "unalterable" promises were revoked. During this period émigrés would be permitted to leave the duchy freely with their family and goods without suffering unusual taxation. Finally, the document concluded with a vague guarantee of civil liberties through an overarching prohibition against the creation of, "any laws, bands, or decrees that set the Portuguese or their descendants apart or out of context from our ancient and native subjects out of hatred for them or to their detriment."³⁸

Cosimo's settlement incentives from 1547-9 failed to attract a significant response. While Livorno's insalubrious marshlands and embryonic infrastructure were strong deterrents, potential New Christian immigrants had other reasons to be wary. The circulation of the 1549 letters patent was limited to handwritten copies distributed along semi-secret channels and thus did not constitute a public declaration. Moreover, in the

³⁷ "Anzi i beni dei rei confessi e dei condannati appartengono a pieno titolo ai loro figli, nipoti, e discendenti cattolici e agli altri congiunti che potessero diventare legittimi eredi." This suggests that the progeny of apostatized Jews must convert to Catholicism to receive their inheritance, Ibid.

³⁸ "Non si possa fare altresì alcuna legge, bando, o decreto sui Portoghesi stessi e sui loro discendenti, a parte e in modo avulso dal contesto degli altri nostri sudditi antichi e native, in odio verso di loro o a loro danno." Ibid.

same year that Cosimo made his secret invitations for the refugees to resettle in Tuscany, his Imperial protector, Emperor Charles V, expelled New Christians from the Low Countries. In 1551, Cosimo extended the invitation to include all Levantine merchants by explicitly nominating, “Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, Armenians, and Persians” as eligible for the protections.³⁹ Although a small number of Greek and Corsican immigrants began to filter into Pisa and Livorno, any skepticism of Sephardic and Levantine Jews was soon confirmed as post-Tridentine anxiety swept through Italy.

When Pope Pius IV ordered all copies of the Talmud to be burned in 1553, Cosimo readily complied. Anti-Jewish policies in Tuscany escalated during the papacy of Pius V, driven in part by Cosimo’s aspiration to be crowned Grand Duke by the pope. In 1557, Tuscan Jews were forced to wear identifying insignia. By 1570-71, Cosimo had revoked the privileges granted to Jewish moneylenders and ordered all Jews living in Tuscany to either leave the state or transfer to the newly constructed Jewish *ghettos* in Florence or Siena.⁴⁰ These persecutory policies were enforced throughout Tuscan subject territories. Although Cosimo rescinded the settlement privileges previously offered to New Christian and the Jewish populations, the Duke did not abandon the goal of increasing Tuscan maritime power by developing the port of Livorno.

³⁹ ASF, Pratica Segreta, 186, folios 94-95. The 1551 letter was entrusted to Servadio, a Greek Jew who was resident in Damascus. Servadio was given additional privileges *ad personam* to act as the mediating agent for Levantines. See Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 29; Castignoli, Frattarelli Fischer, and Papi, *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 78; Alisa Ginio (ed.), *Jews Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean After 1492* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1992), 75.

⁴⁰ Stefanie Siegmund has argued that Cosimo’s Jewish policies should be considered as part of his effort to centralize his duchy. Scholars dispute whether Levantine Jews were exempt from these laws. See Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (1591-1700)*; Stefanie Siegmund, *The Medici State and the Ghetto of Florence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

The Order of St. Stephen

Tuscany's naval power grew and in 1561 Duke Cosimo received Pope Pius IV's approval to found the Catholic Naval Order of Saint Stephen.⁴¹ Although the Holy Roman Emperor initially resented Tuscan interference into naval affairs, the Order proved instrumental domestically by helping Cosimo consolidate the pan-Tuscan nobility into a centralized institution.⁴² Moreover, in 1569, the Order's crusading efforts on behalf of the papacy earned Cosimo the illustrious title of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. While Pisa remained the ceremonial center for the Knights of St. Stephen, Livorno served as the order's maritime port. Ostensibly, the Knights' presence in the Mediterranean offered Christian merchants en route to Livorno a new level of maritime security. In practice, however, the order's indiscriminate corsairing dissuaded Armenian, Persian, Turkish, and Moorish merchants from responding to Duke Cosimo's 1551 letters patent.

Increased Fiscal Incentives

In 1565, Duke Cosimo reformulated Livorno's fiscal policies in the hope of attracting solvent merchants, skilled laborers, and artisans. To encourage local consumption in Livorno, the Customs House, or *Dogana*, removed taxation on goods consumed within the port. In addition, it reduced by two-thirds the duties on common consumables (oil, wine, dried figs, and oranges) that were intended for transport to Pisa or committed to the service of the Order of St. Stephen. Most importantly, the 1565

⁴¹ See chapter two for discussion of the Knights of St. Stephen and the Knights of Malta.

⁴² Franco Angiolini, *I cavalieri e il principe: L'ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna* (Firenze: Edifir, 1996); Rodolfo Bernadini, *Le relazioni a stampa delle imprese della Marina Stefaniana* (Pontedera: Istituzione dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano, 2006); Rodolfo Bernadini, *L'Istituzione dei Cavalieri di Santo Stefano: origine, sviluppo, attività* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2005).

Dogana reforms sought to promote long-distance trade by reducing tariffs on selected merchandise originating from over 100 miles away.⁴³

Duke Cosimo's liberalization of taxation in Livorno presaged the fiscal reforms implemented by his successors which evolved over time into the policies of the *porto franco*, or free port. In *Genoa and the Sea*, historian Thomas Kirk outlines the financial rationale that encouraged early modern regimes to adopt the 'liberal' economic policies of a free port. In comparing the tax incentives of Livorno with the more conservative import duties of its rival port to the north, Genoa, Kirk writes:

The aims of a free port policy were to increase the fiscal base through an increase in port traffic; to provide for the supply of goods for local consumption; to provide for the supply of goods for trade; to influence the regional if not the international flow of goods; to provide military protection; and, in some cases, to allow a competitive advantage to national shipping.⁴⁴

Kirk explains that an overall increase in port traffic had the potential to broaden a state's fiscal base in at least three ways.⁴⁵ First, it allowed the regime to charge lower duties on an increased quantity of merchandise. Second, it enhanced a port's possibilities for local consumption. Lastly, the increased maritime traffic provided the regime with revenue from anchorage fees. Although Livorno eventually benefited from its liberal taxation policy, in 1565 the port lacked the stable urban population and maritime infrastructure

⁴³ For reasons that are not entirely clear the long-distance tax exemption also included merchandise arriving from Lucca or Milan.

⁴⁴ Thomas Kirk, *Genoa and the Sea: Policy and Power in an Early Modern Maritime Republic, 1559-1684* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 194-196.

⁴⁵ Kirk emphasizes that the incentives of the early modern 'free port' should not be misinterpreted as evidence of Smithian laissez-faire economic theory that aimed to increase overall trade. Rather, Kirk writes, "in short, it was a zero-sum game." *Ibid.*, 196.

necessary to support its potential role as an *entrepôt*. Consequently, as the prospect of developing Cosmopolis faltered, the regime experimented aggressively with demographic policies in Livorno while simultaneously working to improve the port's embryonic infrastructure.

Greek Immigrants and Duke Cosimo's "Bird-catching Net"

Greek sailors and sea captains employed in the service of the Knights of St. Stephen were among the earliest voluntary immigrants to Livorno.⁴⁶ In 1568, the Duke sought to make Livorno more attractive to them by promising to establish a Greek Church in the area, a concession that the regime described as a *'zinbello al paretaio,'* or "bird-catching net."⁴⁷ Greek churches in Italy were expected to be in communion with the Catholic Church according to the agreements of the Ecumenical Council of Florence (1438-9). However, Duke Cosimo had not explicitly received papal approval to establish a Greek Church in Livorno. Consequently, when the Greek Church of San Jacopo was established in 1572-4 on the site of a former Augustinian hermitage, the location was

⁴⁶ Greek captains were admitted into the Order of St. Stephen as early as 1563. Molly Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 93-94; Popova dell'Agata, "Greci e Slavi in alcuni tentativi popolazionistici dei primi granduchi di Toscana," 105-115.

⁴⁷ Technically translated, a bird-catching mirror, or "zinbello al paretaio." ASF, MP, 533, folio 329. Quoted by Francesca Funis, "Gli insediamenti dei greci a Livorno tra Cinquecento e Seicento," *Città et Storia*, Vol. II (2007): 61-75. For the formation of Livorno's Greek community see Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Alle radici di una identità composita. La 'nazione' greca a Livorno," in *Le iconostasi di Livorno, patrimonio post-Bizantino* (Pisa: Pacini, 2001), 49-61; Giangiacomo Panessa, *Le comunità greche a Livorno: Tra integrazione e chiusura nazionale* (Livorno: Belforte, 1991); Paolo Castignoli, "La comunità Livornese dei Greci non uniti," in Castignoli, Frattarelli Fischer, and Papi (eds), *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 109-115; Dorian Popova dell'Agata, "La nazione e la chiesa dei Greci Uniti," in *Livorno: progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi & Pacini, 1980), 251-262; Jonathan Harris and Heleni Porfyiou, "The Greek Diaspora: Italian Port Cities and London, c. 1400-1700," in Donatella Calabi and Stephen Christensen (eds), *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe, Cities and Cultural Transfer in Europe: 1400-1700*, Vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 65-86.

situated in Borgo San Jacopo, a small hamlet that stood outside of Livorno's city walls one mile distant from the urban center.⁴⁸

On one hand, the regime's decision to establish a Greek Church at the Borgo San Jacopo was attributable to the site's natural advantages, including its access to fresh water, its distance from the insalubrious marshes, and its defensible position near the coast at an elevation protected from pirate raids. However, on the other hand, it is likely that the remote location was chosen to render the activities of the Greek congregation less visible to Inquisitorial authorities stationed in Pisa. Although the congregation of San Jacopo was expected to follow Catholic theology and recognize the supreme authority of the pope, it was allowed to host Greek-language mass in the Oriental Rite. While the majority of Livorno's sixteenth century Greek immigrants were Catholic, it is likely that a few Orthodox schismatics were integrated into the community from an early date. Indeed, the proliferation of heretical ideas and practices in the Greek Church became an ongoing preoccupation for Pisan inquisitors over the course of the seventeenth century.⁴⁹

Nevertheless, the Greek community of sailors, soldiers, and artisans played an important military and political role in the early formation of Livorno. The sacerdote of the Greek Church of San Jacopo regularly served as the Medici regime's official military chaplain. In as early as 1563, a Greek born in Zante of Venetian parentage, Giovanni Mannolis Volterra, was admitted into the Order of St. Stephen as Captain of the

⁴⁸ For a similar effort by the Medici to attract Greek immigrants to populate Grosseto, see the letter from an agent in Zante on March 5, 1586 (1685 ab. Inc.). ASF, MP, 1829, f. 73.

⁴⁹ See chapter four for discussion of the effect of the Pisan Inquisition on Livorno.

Galleys.⁵⁰ Volterra's military prominence was exemplary, and by 1586 he was chosen to be the military Governor of Livorno (*Governatore delle Arme e delle Bande*). While most Greek immigrants were of more humble origins, Duke Cosimo's successors redoubled their efforts to recruit skilled Greek mariners.

According to Livorno's seventeenth century chronicler Nicola Magri, by the late sixteenth century, the Greek community in San Jacopo comprised roughly 80 families and in the 1590s Grand Duke Ferdinando, "conceded many privileges to the Greek nation and had the spirit to enlarge Livorno towards the part of San Jacopo with the name Borgo dei Greci."⁵¹ However, although the Greek Church of San Jacopo successfully attracted dozens of immigrants to Livorno, the remote hamlet was not destined to be the center for Livorno's growing Greek community. In 1600, Duke Ferdinando devised an even more effective 'bird-catching net' when he gave the Greek community a parcel of land and a loan of over 2,000 *scudi* to construct a new Greek United Church dedicated to the Holy Annunciation in the very center of Livorno's new town.⁵² The regime's willingness to

⁵⁰ The jurisdictional authority of Livorno's early captains and governors was uncertain. Marcella Aglietti, *I governatori di Livorno dai Medici all'unità d'Italia: gli uomini, le istituzioni, la città* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009), 34-35.

⁵¹ The seventeenth century chronicler Nicola Magri mentioned that additional incentives were issued by the Grand Duke in 1597 to attract Ottoman Levantine Greeks, "[the Duke] made an order that they must emphatically caress the Levantine Greeks, by commanding at the meeting of his ministers that they should not in any way receive Greek vassals of Venice." "Nel 1597 il Serenissimo Ferdinando di Motoproprio concede molti privilegi alle nazione greca e la animo aggrandire Livorno dalla parte di San Jacopo con nome di Borgo dei Greci, e fa un ordine che si devono grandemente accarrezzare li Greci Levantini, comandando all'incontro à suoi ministry non ricevano in modo alcuno Greco Vassallo de Veneziani." Magri may have been confused about the date of 1590 privileges. He notes that the Augustinian friars were given back the Church at San Jacopo in 1600. Nicola Magri, *Discorso cronologico di Livorno in Toscana dall'anno della sua fondazione, fino al 1646* (Napoli: Francesco Savio Stampatore, 1647), 118-119, 122, and 130.

⁵² To repay the loan, the Duke extracted a small percentage (1.2%) of the salaries paid to Greek sailors employed in the Tuscan Navy. Frattarelli Fischer, "Alle radici di una identità composita," 49-61.

lure immigrants with property rights and the freedom of religious expression became a defining feature of Livorno's future development.

Galley Service and Forced Resettlement

While Duke Cosimo preferred to attract voluntary immigrants with incentives, he also resorted to populating Livorno by force. Banishment and exile had been tools of criminal justice since the medieval period. However, under the centralized arm of Tuscan criminal justice, the forced residence of criminals became systematized as state policy to promote settlement in the insalubrious marshlands of the Maremma, Pisa, and especially Livorno.⁵³ Initially, galley service in Tuscany was introduced as punishment for the moral crimes of blasphemy and sodomy. However, over the course of the sixteenth century it became routine punishment for violent and petty offenses, including murder, rape, vagrancy, and larceny.⁵⁴ Florence's magistracy in charge of criminal affairs, the *Otto di Guardia e Balia*, had an established tradition of using the sparsely settled malarial regions of the Maremma as a site for the force residence of convicted criminals and social outcasts.⁵⁵ In 1562, Tuscany's regions of forced residence were codified more

⁵³ John Brackett, *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence*, 68-71; See also Fasano Guarini and Volpini, *Frontiere di terra, frontiere di mare*.

⁵⁴ The *forzati* population was comprised of Christian European men convicted of crimes within the Tuscan Duchy and throughout the Italian states. These individuals were typically convicted of violent crimes (rape, murder, and pedophilia) but some were political insubordinates and religious non-conformists. See chapter five for further discussion. See Lorenzo Cantini (ed.), *Legislazione Toscana (1532-1775): raccolta e illustrate*, Vol. 1 (Firenze: Albizzini, 1802), 210-221 and 382-3; Franco Angiolini, "La pena della galera nella Toscana Moderna (1542-1750)", in L. Antonielli (ed.), *Carceri, carcerieri, carcerati: dall'antico regime all'Ottocento: seminario di studi* (Soveria Mannelli: Rubbettino Editore, 2006), 79-115.

⁵⁵ In 1560, Duke Cosimo attempted to populate the insalubrious Maremma region by offering 129 Lombard immigrant families free land and generous tax incentives to resettle in the area. This demographic experiment ended tragically. In May 1585, the Medici official Carlo Pitti wrote to Duke Francesco to report that all of the roughly 850 immigrants had escaped or died. "Sopra il far venire gente forestiere per abitar la maremma ... circa il ragguagliarla del modo e altra che si tenne nel fare venire le famiglie che l'anno 1560

specifically according to the seriousness of the crime.⁵⁶ As detailed by the Grand Duke's Fiscal Lieutenant, individuals convicted of petty crimes and public scandals were sent to the town of Volterra while violent offenders were relegated to Livorno or the island of Giglio. During the period of forced residence, criminals reported to local officials every 15 days and were assigned to hard labor including galley service, manual construction, or mining. In 1563, the areas of forced residency were further refined to focus the settlement of peasants in Pisa and Livorno.

Unlike exile, sentences of forced residence were typically temporary and the property of the convicted individuals was not confiscated by the state. In 1564, Tuscan authorities began allowing criminals to commute their galley service sentences through the purchase of property and the agreement to supervised residence in Livorno.⁵⁷ The forcible resettlement of violent criminals continued throughout Livorno's early development. In 1603, the murder conviction of a man named Flaminio Granati was commuted into three years of forced residency following his contribution of 300 scudi for the construction of a house in Livorno.⁵⁸ While forced residency offered violent criminals a means to social reintegration, the transgressions of talented artists were also harnessed

vennero di Lombardia per abitare a Massa di Maremma ... concluse fino a numero di famiglie 129 insomma di anime 850, le quali tutte furono con dotte in detto luogo a spese di V.A.S. e quivi furono lor consegnate case e terre et proviste di grano, vino, et danari conforme alle esenzione, et capitoli che sopra ciò allora se ne fecero de quali capitoli per notizia di Vostra Altezza se ne manda in questa una copia et la spesa ... secondo che ho più volte sentito dire delle famiglie buona partite se ne fuggirono, et andarono con Dio, et il restante quasi tutte morte et spente." Signed by Carlo Pitti, dated May 30, 1585 (ab Inc.) from Florence. ASF, MP, 1829, f. 72.

⁵⁶ April 9, 1562. Cantini, *Legislazione Toscana*, Vol. 4, 335-6.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Vol. 5, 41-2.

⁵⁸ Cited by Brackett, *Criminal Justice and Crime in Late Renaissance Florence*, 70, footnote 40-41.

for the aesthetic embellishment of Livorno. In the early seventeenth century the artist Agostino Tassi (1578-1644) served several years of forced residency in Livorno as punishment for unspecified offences; during this period Tassi was assigned the task of painting elaborate frescoes on Livorno's exterior building facades.⁵⁹

Duke Francesco (1574-1587): Building Initiatives

Livorno underwent significant capital improvements during the reign of Cosimo's son and successor, Grand Duke Francesco I (r. 1574-87). Using the cheap physical labor of peasants, criminal forced laborers, and slaves, Duke Francesco was instrumental in transforming the port's urban and transportation infrastructure. In 1575, he oversaw the draining of Livorno's malarial swamps and the completion of the Navicelli canal. This modest waterway ran along the stretch of land that separated Livorno's port from the Arno River. The completion of the canal offered merchants a critical lifeline to easily transport their shipments from Livorno's harbor to the commercial markets in Pisa and Florence.⁶⁰

In 1576, Duke Francesco commissioned the court architect and stage designer Bernardo Buontalenti to design the fortifications and city plan for Livorno's future

⁵⁹ The nature of Tassi's conviction in Tuscany remains unclear although he later gained notoriety in Rome for the alleged rape of the female artist Artemisia Gentileschi. Tassi's frescoes in Livorno depicted naval battles between the Order of St. Stefano and the Ottomans. These frescoes sustained significant damage due to salt water from the ocean. In 1747, they were symbolically destroyed in a political gesture after the Lorraine rulers of Tuscany signed a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire.

⁶⁰ For Livorno's construction chronology, see Dario Matteoni, *Livorno: la città nella storia dell'Italia* (Livorno: Belforte Editore, 1985); Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Lo sviluppo di una città portuale: Livorno, 1575-1720," in Marco Folini (ed.), *Sistole/Diastole. Episodi di trasformazione urbana nell'Italia delle città* (Venezia: Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2006), 271-333; Cornelia Joy Danielson, "Livorno: a Study in 16th Century Town Planning in Italy" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1986); Paolo Castignoli, "Livorno da Terra Murata a Città," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea: Atti di convegno* (Livorno, U. Bastogi Editore 1978), 32-39; Dario Matteoni, "La costruzione della città nuova (1590-1629)," in *Livorno progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600. Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini Editori 1980), 121-128.

development. Although Buontalenti's original master plan has been lost, a partial view of the pentagonal design is visible in Matteo Rosselli's 1622 fresco from the Casino di San Marco [Fig. 3. 8]. In addition, an 18th century etching copy of the original is presumed to be faithful [3.9].⁶¹ As engineers surveyed the site, the regime began expropriating all private and ecclesiastical property within the projected city plan. Despite protests from "stubborn Livornesi" property holders, in the fall of 1576 farming plots and homesteads were appraised and owners were compensated through credits issued from the Tuscan state bank, the Monte di Pietà.⁶² Property owners could apply these credits to the future purchase of plots within the redeveloped city.⁶³ With all of Livorno's property in the hands of the state, the regime was able to shape and redistribute it strategically. As work began on Livorno's new defensive walls Duke Francesco established the *Ufficio della Fabbrica* as a central office to oversee construction efforts. During a solemn ceremony held on March 28, 1577, symbolic objects were placed inside the foundation stone of the

⁶¹ The earliest known copy of Buontalenti's original plan is contained in Tomaso Masi, *Raccolta delle più belle vedute della Città e porto di Livorno con alcune osservazioni sopra le medesime*, 1796. Filippo Löwe executed another copy of Buontalenti's plan in 1801. See Matteoni, *Livorno*, 15-21.

⁶² In November 1576, Lorenzo Sani, Chancellor of Cascina and Livorno, wrote to Grand Duke Francesco and described how the Livornesi were stubborn and unwilling to accept the government appraisals of their land, "questi livornesi sono stati et sono molti duri al farne li contratti." ASF, MP, 691, f. 136. See also ASF, MP, 692, f. 188.

⁶³ On the evolution of the *Monte di Pietà* from its origin as a charitable lending institution to a source for the government financing of public debt during the reign of Duke Cosimo I, see Carol Menning, *Charity and State in Late Renaissance Italy: the Monte di Pietà of Florence* (Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1993).

bastion of San Francesco in an act intended to ritually secure the auspicious future of Livorno's new town.⁶⁴

Tuscan Demographic and Economic Decline

Despite the regime's costly infrastructure investments and the implementation of liberal tax reforms and coercive and attractive settlement policies, the demographics of Livorno had suffered alongside the declining Tuscan economy. Over the course of Duke Cosimo's reign (1537-1574) the population of Livorno hovered between 500 and 700 free residents, while Florence stagnated and Pisa diminished from 22,000 residents to only 7,000.⁶⁵ In part, Tuscany's demographic crisis reflected the waves of plague and famine that devastated regions throughout sixteenth century Italy. However, the mortality rates in early modern cities *always* exceeded birth rates prior to the nineteenth century, even in years free from extraordinary health crises.⁶⁶ Since population stasis or growth in the early modern period was dependent upon steady waves of external migration, the Tuscan demographic crisis of the sixteenth century was indicative of diminishing urban immigration due to shrinking economic opportunities. Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Medici rulers struggled to diagnose and solve what they perceived as the underlying reasons for this decline.

⁶⁴ Ceremony held March 28, 1577. ASF, MP, 695, folio 69. For archival transcriptions describing the foundation ceremony's religious and astrological elements, see Giacinto Nudi, *Storia urbanistica di Livorno dalle origini al secolo XVI* (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1959), 100-103.

⁶⁵ Pisa's pre-plague population reached 38,000 in 1293 but declined to only 10,000 by 1563. See population chart in Paul Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy* (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 1998), 310. Balchin cites figures given by Lauro Martines, *Power and Imagination: City States in Renaissance Italy* (London: Pimlico, 2002).

⁶⁶ Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy*, 311.

Economic historians today recognize how the labor dynamics of homestead sharecropping, the *mezzadria poderale*, contributed to Tuscany's seventeenth century recession. Indeed, the economic domination of Florence over her subject cities and *contados* was embodied in the practice of the *mezzadria poderale*, which inhibited the development of rural manufacturing by absorbing all rural labor into an inefficient and Florentine-dominated agricultural system.⁶⁷ Although the practice of sharecropping was lucrative for Florentine patricians, it was detrimental to the state's overall economic development. However, as Carlo Marco Belfanti has argued, the manufacturing regulations introduced during the reign of Duke Cosimo were likely an even greater barrier to rural Tuscan economic development.⁶⁸

Although Duke Cosimo continued many of the taxation schemes that were devised during the Republic (*estimo* and *decima*), his reorganization of Tuscan manufacturing displayed clear favoritism towards the Florentine capital.⁶⁹ The Duke

⁶⁷ Sam Cohn has examined the role of peasants in the organization of the late medieval Florentine state. His work demonstrates a strong correlation between demography and fiscal taxation that was linked to the *mezzadria* sharecropping system. Samuel Cohn Jr., "Demography and the Politics of Fiscality," in William Connell and Andrea Zorzi (eds), *Florentine Tuscany: Structures and Practices of Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 183-206.

⁶⁸ Belfanti argues that the Tuscan Grand Duchy was not a modern centralized state but rather a large regional monopoly that served the interests of Florentine capitalists. The protectionist measures that favored Florentine cloth production were not removed until 1739. Belfanti, "Town and Country in Central and Northern Italy, 1400-1800," 292-315.

⁶⁹ Cosimo continued the taxation schemes of the *estimo* and *decima* that were devised during the Florentine Republic. He ordered the yearly assessment of property by government appraisers in order to eliminate tax manipulation and ensure a less arbitrary distribution of the tax burden. Although Cosimo's tax reforms tended to favor poorer people, the fiscal strategy served Cosimo's political interests as a means to divest power from entrenched local interests. Ecclesiastical lands and the sparsely populated regions of Pisa and Livorno were not initially subject to the *decima* tax. Anthony Molho, "The State and Public finance: A Hypothesis Based in the History of Late Medieval Florence," in Julius Kirshner (ed.), *The Origins of the State in Italy, 1300-1600*, 97-135.

followed mercantilist logic when he implemented protectionist measures regulating Tuscany's largest industry, wool and silk manufacturing. By restricting cities like Pisa to the production of lesser quality cloth, Cosimo concentrated the production of the finest wool and silk textiles exclusively within the Florentine capital. While this state policy rewarded Florentine merchant capitalists at the expense of subject cities, the regulations depleted the wealth and population of Pisa and the surrounding region. In the short-term the Duke's protectionist policies seemed to pay off. Between 1553 and 1572, Florence more than doubled its yearly production of woolen cloth from 14,700 pieces to 33,312 pieces. However, these gains were short lived and the production of woolen cloth began to fall again in the early seventeenth century. By 1650, yearly production in Florence was reduced to only 6,000 pieces.⁷⁰ Although the Florentine production of luxury silk proved more buoyant in export markets, Tuscan textile production overall fell roughly 35% between 1560 and 1650.⁷¹

While the entrenched interests of Florentine labor guilds kept the price of Tuscan textiles high, the rise of cheaper textiles from Northern Europe encroached upon Tuscany's traditional export markets in the Levant. The competition was so fierce that in some instances Tuscan textiles could not compete in their local markets. Considering that the economic engine of Europe was in the process of transferring from Italy to Amsterdam, the seventeenth century eclipse of Tuscan industry takes on an almost teleological sense of inevitability. However, the sixteenth century Medici rulers could

⁷⁰ Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy*, 419.

⁷¹ Ibid.

not perceive that the tectonic shift in global trade patterns signaled the end of Mediterranean dominance and the rise of the Atlantic world. To the contrary, the regime did not share this grim economic prognosis because at the conclusion of Cosimo's reign the future of Tuscan textile manufacturing seemed promising. As discussion within the court of Duke Francesco reveals, the state's immediate economic goal was clear: since the most lucrative export markets for Florentine textiles were located in the Levant, the future of the Tuscan economy hinged on increasing access to these markets. The regime pursued this end using diplomatic channels abroad and domestic policy at home. While the regime advocated on behalf of Florentine merchants in the Levant they simultaneously experimented with strategies intended to lure Levantine merchants to the port of Livorno.⁷²

Tuscan-Ottoman Trade: Between Holy War and an "Ancient Friendship"

In the mid-fifteenth century, merchants of the Florentine Republic developed a lucrative two-way trading pattern in which they exported Florentine wool cloth to Levantine markets based in Istanbul and imported raw Persian silk upon their return. These efforts were aided significantly by the generous fiscal and diplomatic immunities granted to them by Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II according to the 1455 Capitulations for the Florentine Republic.⁷³ As stipulated in these capitulations, the Sultan guaranteed Florentine merchants safe passage in Ottoman lands and the ability to reside in

⁷² Richard Goldthwaite, "The Textile Industries," *The Economy of Renaissance Florence* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 265-340; Balchin, *Urban Development in Renaissance Italy*, 418-21.

⁷³ The original copy of the Florentine Republic's 1455 capitulation from the Ottoman sultan is lost. The renewal from 1500 is assumed to be similar to the former agreement. An archival transcription of the capitulations from 1500 is available in Sergio Camerani, "Contribuito alla storia dei trattati commerciali fra la Toscana e i Turchi," *Archivio Storico Italiano* XCVII, no. 2 (1939): 83-101.

Constantinople's suburb of Pera. Unlike the privileges granted to the Venetians, Florentine merchants were not expressly allowed to keep a resident diplomat, or *bailo*, in the Ottoman capital. Nonetheless, the 1455 capitulations did guarantee that Florentines could resolve their legal disputes in the Sultan's courts in Istanbul instead of facing judgment by provincial Cadi judges.⁷⁴ The Sultan's privileges and protections allowed Florentine merchants to become strong competitors for Levantine trade despite the domination of this market by their formidable mercantile rivals, the Genoese and Venetians.

Moreover, the diplomatic relationship between the Florentine Republic and the Ottoman Empire was not purely economic. When the anti-Medici conspirator Bernardino di Bandino Baroncelli fled to Istanbul in the wake of the Pazzi conspiracy of 1478, the Sultan had the assassin caught and extradited to Florence.⁷⁵ This prompted the grateful Florentine Republic reciprocate with diplomatic gifts and declare themselves, "the most faithful and obedient sons" of Mehmed II.⁷⁶ However, Florence's privileged role in the

⁷⁴ Ibid., "havendo differentia fra loro, et non volendo una parte di loro star a ragione del Cadi et volendo il giuditio della Porta mia, lo possino havere et il cadi di quello loco non possa impedire, et se la mia Corte fussi fuori di Costantinopoli, il Cadi di Constantinopoli sia quello che giudichi." See also Eric Dursteler, "The Bailo in Constantinople: Crisis and Career in Venice's Early Modern Diplomatic Corps," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 16, no. 2 (2001): 1-30; Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 173-177; Daniel Goffman, "Negotiating with the Renaissance State: the Ottoman Empire and the New Diplomacy," in Virginia Aksan and Daniel Goffman (eds), *The Early Modern Ottomans: Remapping the Empire* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 61-74.

⁷⁵ The Pazzi conspiracy unfolded in the Florence Cathedral during Easter morning mass in 1478. Baroncelli was one of two people who directly participated in the stabbing of Giuliano de' Medici after the hired assassin failed to execute the plan. Roughly 40 individuals were punished in the days immediately following the plot and 200 were banished or executed in the days and months thereafter. Baroncelli had escaped Florence during the confusion and spent a year hiding in Constantinople. As depicted in the sketchbook of Leonardo da Vinci, Baroncelli was hung in Florence wearing Turkish garments.

⁷⁶ These gifts included a bronze medallion that celebrated the Sultan's territorial conquests; some art historians suggest that the composition of this medallion included a veiled invitation for the Turks to invade

Ottoman Empire was short-lived. Ottoman capitulations were unilateral and had to be renewed upon the death of each Sultan. Although the Florentine capitulations were renewed and expanded by Sultan Bayezid II in 1500, the 1513 negotiations with his successor Sultan Selim I stalled indefinitely.⁷⁷ Tuscan-Ottoman relations were further strained in 1530, when the fall of the last Florentine Republic led to the installation of the Medici as the Dukes of Florence.⁷⁸ Since the Medici had incurred significant political debts during this turbulent period, Tuscan foreign policy was molded to suit the interests of the regime's Imperial and Spanish allies, all of whom were sworn enemies of the Ottoman Empire.

In 1561, Duke Cosimo irrevocably altered Tuscan-Ottoman relations by founding the chivalric Naval Order of Saint Stephen, whose militant and unscrupulous corsairing activities supplied the Tuscan Duchy with a steady stream of war trophies and booty in

Naples, which was then ruled by Medici rivals. On June 18, 1479 the Secretary of the Signoria wrote to the Florentine Consul in Pera, "we have learned with great pleasure how that most glorious prince [Mehmet] has seized Bernardo Bandini, most heinous parricide and traitor to his country, and declares himself willing to do with him whatever we may want — a decision certainly in keeping with the love and great favor he has always shown toward our Republic and our people as well as with the justice of his most serene Majesty ... although as a result of the innumerable benefits done by his most glorious Majesty in the past for the Republic and our people, we owe him the greatest indebtedness and are the most faithful and obedient sons of his Majesty." Document translated in Kenneth M. Setton, *Papacy and the Levant 1204-1571* (Philadelphia: Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 1976), 337.

⁷⁷ Ambassador Geri Risaliti negotiated the 1500 capitulations. For the development of the Ottoman capitulatory regime, see Alexander De Groot, "The Historical Development of the Capitulatory Regime in the Ottoman Middle East from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Oriente Moderno* 22, no. 3 (2003): 575-604.

⁷⁸ Domestic troubles in Italy were partially to blame for the breakdown of Florentine-Ottoman diplomatic relations. In addition, the suspension of the Venetian-Ottoman war made Florentines lose their strategic advantage in Ottoman markets. Florentine merchants had reaped the benefits of the 'long' Ottoman-Venetian war (1463-1479) that finally came to a conclusion in 1479. Although the Ottomans and Venetians continued to wage sporadic wars throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Serenissima tended towards a policy of non-aggression with the Ottoman Empire. Camerani, "Contribuito alla storia dei trattati commerciali fra la Toscana e i Turchi."

the form of money, merchandise, and Turkish and Moorish slaves. [Fig. 3.10, 3.11] In 1569, the Pisan Church of St. Stephen was consecrated and became a sacred depository for Saracen spoils. [Fig. 3.12, 3.13] Turkish standards taken during battle were proudly displayed along the walls, and panel paintings inlaid into the gilded ceiling celebrated the Order's conquests with martial scenes of Turkish submission and enslavement. State propaganda throughout the Duchy celebrated the Tuscan support for Catholic crusade by featuring the Grand Duke himself as the Order's triumphant Grand Master.

Despite the militancy with which the Tuscan Duchy pursued and publically celebrated Catholic crusade, the memory of the Florentine Republic's lucrative alliance with the Ottoman Empire lingered, particularly given Tuscany's looming economic crisis. Over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this compelled the regime to develop a three-fold Levantine strategy, which had implications for Florentine merchants abroad and for Levantine merchants in the Tuscan Duchy. While the Grand Duke continued to sponsor the activities of the Knights of St. Stephen, the regime repeatedly sent diplomatic envoys to Istanbul's Imperial Divan in hope of reviving what Florentine ambassadors and the Grand Viziers called the "true and ancient friendship" that the former Republic had once shared with the Ottoman Sultans.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ In a letter dated August 30, 1592, Grand Duke Ferdinando wrote to the Ottoman Sultan seeking to renew, "la buona et antica amicizia che la mia Nazione Fiorentina ha tenuto sempre con l'eccelsa porta della Maestà Vostra." ASF, MP, 4274, Insert II, f. 37. Similar pleasantries were used throughout the diplomatic negotiations from 1574 to 1598. In the year 985 of the Islamic calendar (1577), the Ottoman Grand Vizier Mehmet Sokollu Pasha advised Duke Francesco to send a proper diplomatic envoy to meet with the Sultan, "Il gran duca di fiorenza Don Francesco che il loro fine sia in bene, dopo infiniti saluti e laude convenienti alla amicità nostra amichevolmente vi facciamo in tentere come al presente venute, in le quali mostrate desiderare la rinogatione in nome Vostro della antica amicità avuto con i signori fiorentini con la confermazione di alcuni capitoli, per tanto così la sustantia delle vostre lettere mandate alla felice porta come delle nostre ... Data in Costantinopoli in nel ultimi della luna à Diabiul l'anno 985." ASF, MP, 4274, Insert I, f. 2 bis.

Although Medici agents in Istanbul worked hard to curry favor amongst the Ottoman Viziers, in 1574, 1578, and 1598 Florentine diplomatic envoys were sent to the Ottoman capital with the impossible task of defending their regime's schizophrenic Ottoman foreign policies. Moreover, while Medici diplomats sought trade capitulations directly from the Ottoman Sultan, the regime simultaneously provided financial and logistical assistance to rebellious anti-Ottoman leaders in the hope of promoting regime change in Muslim kingdoms throughout Syria, Morocco, Lebanon, and Tripoli.⁸⁰ Although the Medici's duplicitous diplomatic efforts yielded limited gains for Florentine merchants in the Levant, these failures were fundamental in shaping the regime's domestic policy in Livorno. Indeed, the third part of Tuscany's Levantine strategy involved promoting Livorno as an international emporium open to Ottoman, Jewish, Armenian, Greek, and other merchants with privileged access to the Levant.

Although Tuscan diplomacy in Istanbul was primarily concerned with increasing the privileges of Florentines merchants in the Levant, the regime attempted to use Livorno as a bargaining chip by offering Ottoman merchants the possibility of enjoying

⁸⁰ Examples of the Medici's support for anti-Ottoman regime change included the assistance they offered to the 'Sultan Jachia,' who claimed to be a pretender to the Ottoman sultanate. In addition, they were involved in secret negotiations with the King of Fez in 1605 and the Lebanese Emir Fakhr al-Dīn in 1613. The Emir of Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn, arrived in Livorno with his family and court entourage in 1613 with the hope of attaining financial and military assistance to defend his claim to an independent state of Lebanon. Although a strong military alliance never came to fruition, the Druze leader had spent over four years as a guest of the Grand Duke (1613-1618). Fakhr al-Dīn continued his resistance to Ottoman powers until 1635, when he and his family were executed in Istanbul by the Ottoman sultan. For negotiations between Duke Ferdinando and the King of Morocco in 1605, see ASF, MP, 4274, Insert II; For Fakhr al-Dīn see ASF, 4276, folios 1-247. See also Nabil Matar (ed. and trans.), "Description of Pisa and Florence from Lunban fī 'Ahd al-Amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'ni al-Thani," in *Europe Through Arab Eyes* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2009), 163-178; Kaled El Bibas, *L'Emir e il Granduca: La vicenda dell'emiro Fakhr ad-Dīn II del Libano nel contesto delle relazioni fra la Toscana e l'oriente* (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2010); Paolo Carali, *Fakhr ad-din II, principe del Libano e la corte di Toscana: 1605-1635* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1936-38).

reciprocal protections in the Tuscan port.⁸¹ The Florentine merchant and world traveler, Filippo Sassetti, detailed the challenges of this Levantine strategy in a 1577 *relazione* written at the request of the Grand Duke and addressed to the Florentine Ambassador, Piero di Gianfigliuzzi, in preparation for his upcoming mission to negotiate capitulations with the Ottoman Sultan.⁸² While Sassetti's report stressed the importance of increasing Tuscan-Levantine trade, he also outlined the difficulties of attracting Ottoman merchants to Livorno.⁸³ Foremost among Sassetti's concerns was the additional economic burden placed on Levantine merchants en route to Livorno due to the insecurities of crossing the Mediterranean, which were exacerbated by the mutually aggressive Catholic and Muslim corsairing.⁸⁴ Despite these drawbacks, Sassetti imagined that Livorno's future development could include a residential *fondaco* for visiting Turkish merchants, which he

⁸¹ Even though, as the marginalia of one rough draft of the 1578 capitulations noted, "naturally more of our [ships] will go there than theirs to Livorno." "Ragionevolmente più de nostri diversi andar la che de loro a Livorno," ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 19; Ottoman Muslims were less likely to travel beyond the Dar al-Islam due to religious prohibitions and fear for their safety. Practically speaking, they were restricted to traveling on European boats. Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes*.

⁸² Duke Francesco initially sent the merchant Ludovico Canacci to Istanbul as an emissary in 1574, but in the spring of 1577 the Ottoman regime urged the Grand Duke to send a "proper ambassador." The man chosen for the next mission, Piero Bongianni di Gianfigliuzzi, was a Florentine nobleman and a Knight in the Order of St. John in Malta. Prior to his 1578 mission, Gianfigliuzzi had been a military prisoner in Istanbul for several years following his capture by the Turks during the Battle of Lepanto. Although the exact details of his release are unknown, Gianfigliuzzi undoubtedly gained familiarity with Ottoman customs during his captivity. He later had a distinguished career as the Tuscan ambassador to Spain in Madrid (1586-1591). However, he spent 1593-1611 in jail in Tuscany due to significant debts that he had acquired through the Monte di Pietà. Gianfigliuzzi died in c.1616 as a disgraced man under house arrest in Villa San Casciano. His manuscript describing court customs in Istanbul was widely diffused in Florence, *Relazione della città di Costantinopoli e de' costumi di quella corte*. ASF, MP, 4276, Insert 1, folios 1-33.

⁸³ Filippo Sassetti, "Ragionamento sul commercio ordinato dal granduca fra I sudditi suoi e le nazioni del Levante (1577)," in *Lettere di Filippo Sassetti, corrette, accresciute e dichiarate con note (1540-1588)* (Milano: E. Sonzogno, 1880), 101-116; See also Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Livorno città nuova: 1574-1609," *Società e Storia* XI (1989): 873-893.

⁸⁴ Goldthwaite, *The Economy of Renaissance Florence*, 191-2.

suggested could be modeled on Antwerp's Hanseatic House. Although Sassetti mentioned the Hansa by name, he was likely also aware of contemporaneous discussions in Venice about their need to segregate and protect Muslim Turkish merchants.⁸⁵

When the Tuscan ambassador arrived in Istanbul in July 1578, he was under the distinct impression that his duty was to clarify the finer details of the capitulations and oversee their formal ratification.⁸⁶ Undoubtedly, Gianfigliuzzi's confidence stemmed from the tone of the letters exchanged between the Grand Duke and the Grand Vizier Mehmet Pascia in the months leading up to the ambassador's arrival. When the Grand Duke Francesco wrote to the Grand Vizier in April 1577, he expressed interest in renewing the capitulations so that Tuscan merchants could enjoy privileges equivalent to those offered to the Venetians and French, including the ability to have a resident *bailo* in the Ottoman capital. At the very onset of these discussions the Duke included a lengthy disclaimer about the Order of St. Stephen:

Since ill wishers may have mentioned to ... some of your Excellencies that we keep armed rowing vessels running through marines and ports to the damage of your lordship. Your Excellency must know that there are only four ships, and they are not ours, but of the Religion of the Knights founded by the happy memory of Grand Duke Cosimo de Medici, our father, in the name of St. Stephen [...they] are at the every command of the Holy Pontiff and the Catholic King of Spain, [and] the Religion can never be annulled by us, or disarmed without incurring the ire of our God and much alterations in our states.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ See chapter two for discussion of the Venetian *Fondaco dei Turchi*.

⁸⁶ Gianfigliuzzi reported his arrival in Pera on July 21, 1578. In a letter to the Secretary of War he warned that although short robes were in fashion at the Ottoman court, he could not be seen wearing a short dress, lest young men would "point at him" in ridicule. ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 8 [MAP ID 18053].

⁸⁷ ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 1-4, dated April 29, 1577, "Et perché alli malevoli potrebbe essere referto alla Maestà Sua, o ad alcuna dell' Ecc.re Vostre che noi teniamo armati più vasselli di remo, scorrendo con quelli le marine et li porti a danni de sudditi di Sua Maestà l'Eccellenza Vostra ha da sapere questa impresa, che sono solamente quattro galere non è nostra, ma d'una Religione di Cavalieri fondata dalla

Despite the Duke's audacious refusal to take responsibility for the aggressions of the Knights of St. Stephen, the Pascia's response nonetheless seemed favorable. In a letter from June of 1577 Mehmet responded, "our Imperial port is always open to those who arrive with sincerity and purity ... [now] that it is your desire to make friendship with the Happy Porte ... send one of your ambassadors ... and the capitulations will be confirmed."⁸⁸

When Gianfigliazzo arrived in Pera, he was treated with the brisk hospitality customary for foreign dignitaries in the Ottoman Porte.⁸⁹ After struggling with the imperial dragoman to get the proposed capitulations translated into Turkish, the ambassador's initial audience with the Vizier was curt and disorienting. Despite Ottoman consternation over the clause that exempted the Order of St. Stephen from observing a pact of non-aggression, Gianfigliazzi expressed hope for a speedy conclusion to his

felice memoria del Gran Duca Cosimo de Medici padre nostro nel nome di San Stefano per sua devozione et per salute della anima sua ... che siano preste ad ogni comandamento del sommo Pontefice et del Cattolico Re di Spagna, la qual Religione non potrebbe da noi essere annullata, o disarmata senza incorrere del ira del nostro Signori Iddio, et con molta alterazione delli stati nostri."

⁸⁸ ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 2, "E tanto siando la loro imperatoria porta sempre aperta a quelli che con sincerità e purità vi ricorreno, e siando solito loro di esaudire alle domande e desideri loro [...si dunque] siando desiderio vostro di fare amicitia con la felice porta, seghondo il lore eccelso comandamento manderete uno vostro ambasciatore alla loro giusta e eccelsa porto che seghondo che sperate il desiderio vostro sarà accettato con la capitolazione sia confermata. Data in Costantinopoli nel ultimi della luna à Diabiul ... l'anno 985 ... [translated by] Hurren Cavaleri of the first legion and imperial dragoman of his imperial majesty."

⁸⁹ ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 8 bis [MAP ID 18053]. Edhem Eldem describes this "degrading hospitality" as typical of the Ottoman reception of foreign ambassadors. Edhem Eldem, "Foreigners at the Threshold of Felicity: the Reception of Foreigners in Ottoman Istanbul," in Calabi and Christensen, *Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Europe*, 114-131.

mission. However, the tone of his letters became increasingly apprehensive as several months passed before he was granted an audience with the Sultan.⁹⁰

Finally, in October of 1578, amidst the diplomatic theatricality of the Imperial Divan, the Sultan demanded that the Order of St. Stephen be disarmed as condition for granting capitulations to the Tuscan Duchy. Again, Gianfigliuzzi articulated the regime's defense by explaining that the Order owed allegiance to the King of Spain, Holy Roman Emperor and the Papacy, not to the Grand Duke. Although the Grand Duke was the Order's Grand Master, Gianfigliuzzi argued that technically the account books of the two entities were separate and thus the Duchy could not be held accountable for the Order's actions. However, the ambassador was interrupted mid-speech by the arrival of twenty-five recently ransomed Turkish slaves who came to testify about their enslavement in the galleys of the Tuscan Duke.⁹¹ Not only did the slaves insist that Duke Francesco controlled the Knights of St. Stephen, but they also demanded that the Ambassador be held responsible for paying their ransom debts before he could leave Istanbul.⁹² The fiasco brought a swift conclusion to the 1578 diplomatic negotiations. The Pashia and Grand Vizier scolded the ambassador saying, "You say that the Grand Duke is a good Christian and would always do good for subjects of the Sultan ... [but] the gypsies who have no faith would not [even] do these things."⁹³ After the reprimand was repeated the

⁹⁰ Ragusan ambassadors in Istanbul warned Florence that Ottoman consternation over the Order of St. Stephen could stall the negotiations. See ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, f. 9.

⁹¹ ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, folios 25-33.

⁹² Greene, *Catholic Pirates and Greek Merchants*, 87-95.

⁹³ As the Pasha expressed to the Ambassador using a translator, "Voi dite che il Gran Duca è sì buon Cristiano et che farà sempre buoni offizy per i sudditi del Gran Signore paressi che queste hano cose che

following day in the presence of the Sultan, the Gianfigliuzzi described his retort in a letter to the Grand Duke:

I responded that your highness did not send me to dispute faith, nor contract for slaves, but to confirm the [capitulations] that were already granted ... They responded that God had miraculously sent the freed slaves ... and that your majesty should not seek peace with the Porte while still desiring friendship with the Pope and the King of Spain.⁹⁴

Given the timing of the slaves' release and the exorbitant ransom prices he was forced to pay for them, Gianfigliuzzi suspected that jealous Venetians had staged the dramatic event. In light of these developments, Gianfigliuzzi left the Ottoman capital shocked, dejected, and exasperated by the "faithless Ottomans" who squandered his precious time.

In 1598, the powerful Florentine wool guild, the *Arte della Lana*, financed another Tuscan diplomatic mission to Istanbul to seek capitulations from Sultan Mehmed III. However, much like Gianfigliuzzi's mission twenty years prior, these negotiations stalled due to the regime's unwillingness to dismantle the Crusading Knights of St. Stephen and then ended abruptly with the indignant humiliation of Duke Ferdinando's chosen ambassador, Neri Giraldi.⁹⁵ Although Tuscan diplomacy achieved some weak and

convenghino. Certo i Zingani che non hanno fede nessuna, non farebbono tali cose." A similar sentiment was expressed in the presence of the Sultan, "Poi mi domando che cosa empia era questa d'haver si maltrattato questi poveri schiavi, et che noi diciamo esser christiani, ma che essi credono più a Cristo che non facciamo noi, perché lo tengono per un Profeta nato di Maria Vergine, il quale non permette già che si facciano tali cose che i Zingani non le farebbero." See ASF, MP, 4274, Insert 1, folios 26-29.

⁹⁴ Ibid., "Risposi che V.A. non m'haveva mandata per disputar della fede, ne per trattar di schiavi, ma per confermare il già concesso. Et che li schiavi non havevono detto cosa che fusse vera ma per esser ingeati [?] del benefizi ricevuti non potevano far altrimenti ... Rispose che Iddio miracolosamente gli haveva mandati per giustificare che quel che io havevo detto non era vero. Et che la promessa fatta da loro fu su la lettera di V.A. ma poi che erano stati ingannati, il Gran Signore non faceva mancamento. Et che V.A. non doveva cercar la pace con questa Porta, mentre voleva l'amicità col Papa et col Re di Spagna, et che sempre questa porta sarà aperto per V.A. purché ella non voglia dar soccorso al Papa et al Re contro di loro."

⁹⁵ During the 1598 diplomatic mission to Istanbul Ottoman officials arrested Ambassador Giraldi after he was accused of spying on the Imperial harem from the top of a minaret of a mosque. ASF, MP, 4274, Insert

ephemeral gains over the course of the seventeenth century, a lasting peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire was not reached until 1737.⁹⁶

Ultimately, the Medici regime's desire to disassociate their economic pursuits in the Ottoman Empire from the Catholic crusade of the Tuscan Crusading Order followed a problematic logic that considered mercantile activity as a politically neutral category. Although this reasoning was not persuasive in the Imperial Divan, a similar logic proved quite successful when applied to Tuscany's domestic policy in the port of Livorno. After Florentine merchants were repeatedly denied the advantages of trade capitulations in the Levant, the Medici regime was willing to reconsider the role that Jewish, Armenian, and other non-Catholic merchants could play in facilitating Levantine trade in Tuscany. In 1591, this *ragion di stato* led Duke Francesco's successor, Duke Ferdinando, to issue the unprecedented settlement incentives of the *Livornine* legislation.

Greater Securities: the *Livornine*

[Fig. 1.1] After decades of stagnation, Livorno's sudden demographic growth in the last decade of the sixteenth century was spurred by the bold immigration policies encapsulated within Duke Ferdinando's 1591/1593 settlement decrees known collectively

II, folios 34-81. In 1636-7, a similar mission to negotiate trade capitulations with the port of Tripoli resulted in the captivity of the Florentine Ambassador Piero della Rena. See Diaz, *Il Granducato di Toscana*, 251 and 258-9.

⁹⁶ Tuscan diplomatic efforts continued throughout the seventeenth century and achieved partial success in 1668 due to the intervention of the Holy Roman Empire. Imperial agents helped the Tuscan Duchy attain a diploma from the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed IV that permitted Florentine merchants to trade under the banner of the Holy Roman Empire. However, the 1668 diploma offered weak protections to Florentine merchants in the Ottoman Empire. The peace between the Holy Roman Empire and the Ottoman Empire was brief and when fighting resumed in the 1680s the Tuscan military actively participated. Carlo Mangio, "Un episodio dei rapporti fra Impero Ottomano e Toscana medicea: il 'Diploma del Gran Turco' del 1668," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* XLIX (1980): 209-231.

as the *Livornine*.⁹⁷ As described in chapter one, the Grand Duke's legislation publically welcomed "all merchants of any nation, Eastern Levantines and Westerners, Spanish, Portuguese, Greeks, Germans, and Italians, Jews, Turks, and Moors, Armenians, Persians, and others" willing to settle and trade in the city of Pisa or port of Livorno.⁹⁸ To counteract the risks of investing in an underdeveloped Catholic port, the forty-four clauses of the decree detailed a comprehensive incentive structure with economic, social, legal, and religious privileges for foreign and non-Catholic immigrants.

The *Livornina* decree guaranteed all merchants the right to safe passage for their persons and merchandise, and it expanded the fiscal incentives introduced under Duke Cosimo. Merchants were granted two years of duty-free storage on long-distance merchandise and all immigrants were granted immunity from prosecution of any debts incurred outside of the Tuscan duchy. Livorno's fiscal asylum was paired with criminal asylum, which offered immigrants immunity from prosecution for criminal offenses

⁹⁷ Before issuing the *Livornina*, in October of 1590, Duke Ferdinando offered criminal and fiscal asylum to skilled artisans and manual laborers who were willing to invest in property and find employment in Livorno's construction projects. ASF, MP, 1829, f. 123, "Tutti quelli forestieri non sudditi a SA ò che di presente non abitano in alcuna parte degli Stati suoi, quali siano Manifattori di Sartie, Calafati, Maestre d'Ascie, Legnaioli d'ogni sorte, Muratori, Marangoni, Scarpellini, Pescatori, Marinari, Fabri, & ogn'altro mestiero manuale fuori che bracciati & Vogatori, saranno accettati & ammessi ad abitare in detta Terra con le loro robe, & famiglie nonostante l'ordine che per la penuria del presente anno li Forestieri non sieno accettati, ma scaciati dalli stati di SA anzi si procurerà nella fabbrica della fortificazione di Livorno, & ne serviti delle galere di impiegarli, & darli guadagno. Saranno però obbligati, volendo godere la detta & altre esenzioni infrascritte, depositare sopra il Monte di Pietà di Pisa scudi cinquanta almeno per ciascuno capo di famiglia per tirarne li utili di cinque per cento a capo d'anno, ò impiegare attualmente tanta somma à comprare di beni stabili nel Capitanato di Livorno, & far fede al Governatore di detta Terra di detta compra, ò deposito in capo a quindici giorni del loro arrivo." See also Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "La costruzione e il popolamento di Livorno dal 1590 al 1603: I bandi popolazionistici di Ferdinando I," in C. Kalc and E. Navarra (eds), *Le popolazioni del mare: Porti franchi, città, isole e villaggi costieri tra età moderna e contemporanea* (Udine: Forum, 2003), 99.

⁹⁸ Ferdinando de' Medici, "*Livornina*" manuscript dated June 10, 1593. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Rare Book and Manuscript Collection, Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image, Manuscript Number: ljs379.

committed outside of the Tuscan state. Although Livorno's fiscal and criminal asylum was primarily designed to protect the merchandise Jewish and New Christian refugees in the port, these policies also encouraged the rise of black-market piracy.

Immigrants of the Jewish *nazione* were granted the most wide-ranging social and religious privileges, including the right to undisturbed religious practices, the ability to erect synagogues, hold public funerals, and establish Talmudic schools for learning. By offering Jews amnesty from heresies committed in the past, the *Livornine* created a strong incentive for New Christian immigrants to declare their unwavering identification with the Jewish *nazione*. In contrast with the ghettoization and social persecution enforced elsewhere in post-Tridentine Italy, the *Livornine* granted Jewish immigrants in Livorno the freedom of movement, the ability to dress freely without an obligatory identifying sign, the right to carry arms, practice any profession, purchase real estate, and open shops in any part of city. Property-holding members of the Jewish *nazione* were eligible for Tuscan citizenship.⁹⁹ With an eye to detail, the *Livornine* guaranteed Jewish immigrants access to kosher meat at market price and confirmed their right to observe holy days. Further provisions counteracted the evangelism of Catholics in the port and protected from slander, insult, and violence.¹⁰⁰ Finally, the 1591 version of the decree

⁹⁹ As subjects of the Tuscan Duchy Livorno's Jewish *nazione* enjoyed consular protections when traveling abroad. See Francesca Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 77. Renzo Toaff notes that granting Jews the rights of Tuscan citizenship constituted a potentially huge loss of profit for the Duchy. By granting them citizenship privileges the Duke relinquished the regime's ability to confiscate the property of Jews who were criminally convicted or died without heirs. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Pisa e Livorno*.

¹⁰⁰ The initial 1591 *Livornina* banned the baptism of Jewish babies and children until after age 13 (XXVI). It also stipulated that Jewish youth who entered the House of Catechumens could be visited by parents and

granted the community a loan of 100,000 ducats to distribute as investment capital amongst its members.

While the *Livornine* permitted all *nazioni* to arbitrate conflicts amongst their community members, the Jewish community was granted an unprecedented degree of juridical and administrative autonomy. Initially, the Medici regime chose Maggino di Gabriello, a Levantine Jewish entrepreneur based in Venice, to serve as the consul for Livorno's Jewish *nazione*. In 1592, the Grand Duke offered to sponsor Maggino for a recruiting mission throughout Europe and the Levant to assure potential immigrants of the Medici regime's good faith.¹⁰¹ Although Maggino remained a prominent member of Livorno's early Jewish settlement, his official capacity within the community was amended in 1593 after Jews in Pisa voiced concern. As stipulated in the 1593 version of the *Livornine*, the Jewish *nazione* rejected leadership through a single consul in favour of governance through an oligarchic body of officials called the *massari* (*senhores do ma'amad*).¹⁰²

Described as a "republic within an absolutist state," the prominent Sephardic merchants who were elected as Livorno's *massari* had the power to accept or reject new members of their *nazione* and the responsibility of arbitrating internal community

relatives who were eager to dissuade them from conversion (XXVI). Paolo Castignoli and Lucia Frattarelli Fischer (eds), *Le Livornine del 1591 e 1593* (Livorno: Cooperativa Edile Risorgimento, 1988).

¹⁰¹ It is unclear whether Maggino ever left on this mission. However, he did attract potential immigrants through a letter writing campaign, and in 1595 he oversaw Livorno's first synagogue. Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 43-47.

¹⁰² In refusing to elect a consul for their *nazione*, the *massari* agreed to fine or excommunicate anyone who had pretensions of becoming consul in the future. The 100,000-ducat loan offered to the *nazione* was distributed by the *massari*. Other revisions in the 1593 *Livornina* included clauses that specified the Jews' ability to leave Livorno for an Islamic country and clauses that specified the amount of goods that could be taken out of Livorno without taxation. Toaff, *La nazione ebrea a Pisa e Livorno*, 50.

conflicts according to Jewish law (*halakhah*). Secular Tuscan authorities were obligated to enforce the *massari*'s rulings and punishments, which included excommunication, fines, prison, corporal punishment, galley service, and temporary or permanent exile. Since apostatized Jews (Sephardic New Christians) were considered as a natural adversary to the Jewish *nazione* they were banned from testifying against a Jew in court. However, the *massari* did not have jurisdiction over criminal proceedings involving parties from two different nations. In this case the *Livornine* indicated that an impartial lay judge would be responsible for the summary judgment in civil and criminal cases. The *Livornine* placed relatively few restrictions on the rights and privileges members of the Jewish *nazione*. They were prohibited from usurious money lending, the vocation of rag making (*stracceria*), and they were banned from active proselytizing. Finally, the most serious restriction observed by Livorno's secular officials was the regime's criminalization of sexual relations between Jews and non-Jews.

As detailed in the decree, Duke Ferdinando guaranteed the *Livornine* privileges for a period of twenty-five years and stipulated that they would be renewed in perpetuity irrespective of his successor. In the event that they were revoked due to pressure from the Vatican, it guaranteed a five-year grace period for émigrés to leave with their persons and property intact. Ultimately, the *Livornine* echoed many of the vague and ultimately unreliable promises that Duke Cosimo had previously offered to Jews and New Christians from 1547-51. Consequently, Duke Ferdinando was forced to mobilize personal and diplomatic networks to promote the *Livornine* and assure non-Catholic immigrants a level of security unknown in Cosimo's secret invitations. Written in the

Italian vulgate, the decrees were registered in the Grand Duchy's official book of privileges and thus assumed the power of law. While the privileges for foreign artisans and ship captains circulated widely in printed broadsides, official manuscript copies circulated through diplomatic channels and were addressed to Queen Elizabeth in England and Sultan Murat III in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰³

By designating Livorno as an exceptional zone distinct from the larger territorial state, the Medici regime hoped to prioritize their mercantilist goals while technically still honoring their commitment to uphold post-Tridentine Catholic orthodoxy. Changing political conditions in Tuscany increased the likelihood that Duke Ferdinando would uphold the incentives. Whereas the Tuscan Duchy under Cosimo I's had been dependent upon protection from the Holy Roman Empire, strategic marriage alliances had realigned the Medici dynasty with both Spanish and French superpowers. While the Tuscan Duchy benefitted from ongoing Hapsburg-Bourbon rivalries, Duke Ferdinando also had a unique relationship with the Papal States. Before replacing his younger brother as Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinando had spent twenty-five years as a respected cardinal in Rome. Arguably, his influence in the papal curia allowed him a greater degree of flexibility when interpreting papal policy.¹⁰⁴

Despite this increased latitude, by 1604 mounting pressure from the papacy and Spanish crown threatened to undermine the Medici's privileges for Jewish immigrants in

¹⁰³ For printed broadsides that advertised the privileges offered to artisans, see ASF, MP, 1829, f. 123. For the *Livornine* copies that were circulated through diplomatic channels, see ASF, MP, 828, folios 275-277; ASF, Pratica Segreta, 73, folios 259-260; See also Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 42.

¹⁰⁴ Duke Cosimo sought papal approval for his 1548 invitation to Portuguese New Christians but Duke Ferdinando initially did not. In 1593, Pope Clement VIII issued privileges to protect Levantine Jews in the Papal States. Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 38.

Livorno. When the Spanish ambassador to Rome accused the Medici of knowingly sheltering apostatized Jews, the regime flagrantly denied the allegations. Nonetheless, Duke Ferdinando sought to appease the pope by prohibiting further distribution of the Jewish privileges and by ordering that the extant copies remain more closely guarded.¹⁰⁵ Although the Medici regime became far more secretive about the distribution of the decree, the forty-four privileges of the 1593 *Livornina* became the definitive immigration policy guiding the socio-economic development of the port.¹⁰⁶ However, despite the unprecedented breadth and specificity of the *Livornine* privileges, the economic, demographic, and diplomatic success of Duke Ferdinando's urban strategy was not a foregone conclusion.

Urban Planning as Socio-Economic Policy: Giovanni Botero

Although Renaissance city planning was rich in symbolic metaphor it was typically devoid of practical consideration for the material, physical, and political restraints that affected the built environment. [Fig. 3.14] Instead, fifteenth century humanists like Leon Battista Alberti and Antonio di Pietro Averlino (Filarete) theorized ideal urban forms according to classical Vitruvian architectural principals.¹⁰⁷ Sixteenth century military architects and engineers scrutinized the idealized urban forms to adapt

¹⁰⁵ The *massari* were forbidden to show their copy of the *Livornine* to anyone without the Duke's permission. They agreed to excommunicate any member who disobeyed this provision. ASF, Pratica Segreta di Firenze, 189, f. 116, 196; ASF, Auditors delle Rifomagioni, 24, f. 314; Cited by Fisher, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 53.

¹⁰⁶ A few of the *Livornine* privileges were rescinded in subsequent years. These included the promise that Jews could legally employ Christian servants in their homes and the promise that Jews could receive doctoral degrees from the University of Pisa. Fisher, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*.

¹⁰⁷ The Vitruvian architectural principals included firmness, utility, and beauty (*firmitas, utilitas, and venustas*). Caspar Pearson, *Humanism and the Urban World: Leon Battista Alberti and the Renaissance City* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011).

urban fortifications and infrastructure to changing technologies. Nonetheless, even in the late sixteenth century ideal city treatises continued to articulate planning principals using abstract modular designs such as those presented in Giorgio Vasari il Giovane's 1596 treatise, the *Ideal City*.¹⁰⁸ When contextualized within the architectural tradition of ideal cities or the literary tradition of city panegyrics, the late sixteenth century work of Giovanni Botero offered a refreshingly different approach to the study of urban development.

In the opening section of *On the Greatness of Cities* (1588) Giovanni Botero declared that the magnificence of ancient and contemporary cities was not evident in their physical size or architectural finery. Rather, the success of an urban center rested squarely in the hands—and bank accounts—of its numerous, economically enfranchised inhabitants:

A city is said to be an assembly of people, a congregation drawn together to the end they may thereby the better live at their ease in wealth and plenty. And the greatness of a city is said to be, not the largeness of the site or the circuit of the walls, but the multitude and number of the inhabitants and their power. Now men are drawn together upon sundry causes and occasions thereunto them moving: some by authority, some by force, some by pleasure, and some by profit that proceedeth of it.¹⁰⁹

Indeed, Botero's treatise largely ignored questions of architectural form in favor of analyzing the underlying socio-economic dynamics that allowed cities to flourish or fail.

While Botero made passing reference to urban strategies utilized in Greek and Roman

¹⁰⁸ See chapter five for more on Giorgio Vasari il Giovane's treatise. Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, *La città ideale* (1596), in Virginia Stefanelli (ed.), *La città ideale: Piante di chiese (palazzi e ville) di Toscana e d'Italia*. (Roma: Officina Ed, 1970).

¹⁰⁹ Giovanni Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Greatness of Cities* (1596), translated by Robert Peterson (1606), Book 1, Chapter 1.

antiquity, he primarily focused on demographic phenomena that were observable in the cities of his own day.

Through a comparative analysis of urban management in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the world, Botero introduced several key concepts that contributed to the larger corpus of his political philosophy. Firstly, he articulated a theory of demographic growth that was based on the nutritive qualities of a city and its relationship to food supplies that nourished the population and increased fertility rates. Secondly, because the success of a city depended upon the economics of demographic growth Botero offered a moral argument for why mercantilist states were obliged to promote trade. Finally, while Botero stressed that Catholic leaders should enforce post-Tridentine religious orthodoxy, he also recognized the pursuit of profit as a valid *ragion di stato* that justified the occasional use of settlement strategies including religious and criminal asylum.

Published in the years immediately preceding the 1591/93 *Livornine*, *On the Greatness of Cities* summarized available demographic strategies and warned readers about the moral and material risks involved in pursuing these tactics. Botero's treatise cited Duke Cosimo and Duke Francesco's efforts to develop Livorno and Cosmopolis (Portoferraio).¹¹⁰ However, the negligible demographic results produced by the Medici regime's desperate coercive immigration policies served as a cautionary tale:

Cosimo the Great Duke of Tuscany, to appopulate the port Ferraio, gave protection to such as would fly thither, and confined a number that for

¹¹⁰ "And Alexander the Great and other kings erected a number more besides, whereof bear witness Alexandria, Ptolemais, Antioch, Lysimachia, Philippopolis, Demetrias, Caesarea, Augusta, Sebastia, Agrippina, Manfredonia, and in our time Cosmopolis, and the City of the Sun." Ibid., Book One, Chapter 2.

their offences had worthy deserved punishment, which course the Great Duke Francis his son observed afterward for the peopling of Pisa and Livorno. But as we have afore said, it is neither strength nor necessity that have power to make a city frequented, or to raise it unto greatness. For a people enforced and violently driven to rest in one place is like unto seed sown in the sands, wherein it never taketh root to grow to ripeness.¹¹¹

Throughout the short treatise Botero elaborated upon the nutritive qualities of the city by evoking the ruler's metaphoric responsibility to nourish immigrants like seeds planted in the soil. Critical to this endeavor were the qualities of "profit" and "commodity":

For as plants although they be set deep enough within the ground, cannot for all that last and be long kept without the favour of the heavens and the benefit of rain, even so the habitations of men, enforced at first by mere necessity, are not maintained long if profit and commodity go not companions with it ... And pleasure cannot stand without profit and commodity, whereof she is, as it were, the very fruit.¹¹²

For Botero, a city's "commodiousness" included everything from its well-connected transportation networks to the fertility of the surrounding soil. The goal, he argued was for a city to amass a stock of "vendible merchandise always in her possession," either through native "excellency of art and workmanship," or by commanding trade over third party commodities or becoming storehouses for others:

I call that a commodious site that serves in such sort as many people thereof need for their traffic and transportation of their goods whereof they have more plenty than they need, or for receiving of things whereof they have scarcity so that this site, standing thus between both, partaketh with both, and groweth rich with the extremes ... There are some other cities also lords, as it were, of much merchandise and traffic, by means of their commodious situation to many nations, to whom they serve of warehouse room and storehouses: such are Malacca and Ormuz in the East, Alexandria, Constantinople, Messina and Genoa in the Mediterranean Sea, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Danzig and Narva in the Northern Seas, and

¹¹¹ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 1.

¹¹² Ibid., Book One, Chapter 7.

Frankfurt and Nuremberg in Germany. In which cities many great merchants exercise their traffic and make their warehouses.¹¹³

A city's ability to provide physical security, rule of law, justice, pleasure, and aesthetic beauty were all positive attributes that helped draw immigrants.¹¹⁴ Ultimately, however, the pursuit of profit was the glue that bound the constituent elements, "This profit is of such power to unite and tie men fast unto one place, as the other causes aforesaid, without this accompany them withal, are not sufficient to make any city great."¹¹⁵ Indeed, Botero framed the dynamics of international maritime commerce as an essential part of God's divine plan:¹¹⁶

It seems in very truth that God created the water, not only for a necessary

¹¹³ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 3.

¹¹⁴ "Unto art belongeth the straight and fair streets of a city, the magnificent and gorgeous buildings therein either for art or matter, the theatres, porches, circles, races for running horses, fountains, images, pictures, and such other excellent and wonderful things as delight and feed the eyes of the people with an admiration and wonder at them." Ibid., Book One, Chapter 6.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Book One, Chapter 7.

¹¹⁶ Botero's argument about the divine plan of international trade echoed sentiments expressed by Duke Ferdinando in a 1605 letter to the King of Fez in which he tried to arrange a trade agreement and diplomatic alliance with the Islamic kingdom. The Duke wrote, "Man is called a little world due to the concordances they have with each other, and the world can be called a big man for the same reasons. Among which, perhaps the most proper one is that each part helps and defends the other for conservation of the whole. One element sustains and helps the other, and all maintain the body; and what you can consider in a single man, you can notice even more clearly in the whole mankind: neither the space distance nor the separation caused by the mountains are enough to prevent human beings from sharing intelligence for their security and their maintenance, and so (these obstacles) are not enough to prevent one country from being supplied with a lacking good from another country rich of it, and, what is more worthy of imitation and glory, one state from defending the other, and Kings and Princes, although of different faiths, from helping and defending each other, sometimes until jeopardizing his life and his own state to defend someone else." "Mondo piccolo é chiamato l'huomo per le conformità che hanno tra loro, e huomo grande può chiamare il mondo per le stesse ragioni. Tra le quali non ve ne ha fra' alcuna più propria che il giovarsi e difendersi una parte con l'altra per conservazione dell'intero. Un elemento sostiene, e aiuta l'altro, e tutte mantenon il corpo, E quell'che in un solo si considera più chiaro si surge nel genere humano la cui sicurezza, e mantenimento, ne distanza di luogo, ne separazione di monti, non son bastani a lor via intelligenza tra loro, ch'un paese non sia provisto [reverse] di quell che li manca dall'altro che ne habbia copia e quell che e più degno di imitatione, e di gloria, un Regno defenda l'altro, e li Re, e Principe ancorche di fede diversa si soccorino e defendino sino col metter tal hora a sbarglio la vita e lo stato proprio per defender l'altrui ... Al Re de Morocco per XV Marzo 1604 ab. Inc. (1605)." ASF, MP, 4274, f. 88.

element to the perfection of nature, but more than so, for a most ready means to conduct and bring goods from one country to another. For His Divine Majesty, willing that men should mutually embrace each other as members of one body, divided in such sort His blessings as to no nation did he give all things, to the end that others having need of us, and contrariwise we having need of others, there might grow a community, and from a community love and from love and unity between us.¹¹⁷

In order that Christian rulers increase trade and fulfill the divine plan, Botero advocated that they remove the onerous financial burdens that they placed on subjects. By making commercial cities “free and frank” from customs duties city rulers could emulate the economic success evident in Flanders:

The people are in these our days so grievously oppressed and taxed by their princes, who are driven to it partly of covetousness and partly of necessity, that they greedy embrace the least hope that may be of privilege and freedom whensoever it is offered. Thereof the marts, fairs and markets bear good witness, which are frequented with a mighty concourse of tradesmen, merchants and people of all sorts, not for any respect else but that they are there free and frank from customs and exactions ... The cities in Flanders are the most merchantable and the most frequented cities for commerce and traffic that are in all Europe. If you require the cause, surely the exemptions from custom is the chiefest cause of it.¹¹⁸

In addition to low customs duties, Botero advocated that cities should offer certain wealthy immigrants “large immunities and privileges” including political enfranchisement and the rewards of citizenship.¹¹⁹ Such incentives were even more critical in the creation of new cities:

All such as have erected new cities in times past, to draw concourse of

¹¹⁷ Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Greatness of Cities*, Book One, Chapter 10.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 7.

¹¹⁹ “And thus Rome was frequented and enriched with concourse of an infinite sight of people, both noble and rich, that in particular or in common which were honored with the enfranchisement and freedom of Rome.” Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 1.

people to it have granted of necessity large immunities and privileges, at least to the first inhabitants thereof. The like have they done that have restored cities emptied with the plague, consumed with the wars, or afflicted otherwise with some other scourge of God.¹²⁰

Writing at the height of Europe's violent wars of religion, Botero discussed at great length how trade flourished in cities that offered refuge to people in the wake of persecution.¹²¹ Despite his personal alignment with post-Tridentine efforts in Italy, Botero showcased how Levantine and Protestant regimes capitalized on the waves of Catholic persecution and expulsion throughout Early Modern Europe:¹²²

But if the places whereto men are driven of necessity to fly have in them besides their safety any commodity of importance, it will be an easy thing for them to increase, both with people, and with riches, and with buildings. In this matter the cities of Levant and Barbary became great through the multitude of Jews that Ferdinand the King of Spain and Emmanuel the King of Portugal cast out of their kingdoms, as in particular Salonica and Rhodes.¹²³

¹²⁰ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 7.

¹²¹ See chapter two for discussion of Europe's wars of religion.

¹²² Botero was born in Piedmont. At the age of 15 he joined the Jesuit religious order and began studying at a Jesuit college in Palermo. He continued his studies in Rome and in 1565 taught rhetoric and philosophy in France (in Billon, then Paris), where he witnessed the atrocities of the French Wars of Religion. Although Botero's academic excellence was recognized, he was considered a troublemaker due to his involvement in political activities. In 1567, he was recalled to Rome after participating in anti-Spanish protests in France. In the 1570s Botero taught in Milan, Padua and Genoa. In 1580, he was discharged from the Jesuit order for preaching a sermon that questioned the pope's temporal power. Although the Catholic authorities threatened to imprison or exile Botero, he received the favor and protection of the powerful Cardinal Borromeo Bishop of Milan, whose zealous reform efforts sought to transform the Catholic Church. Botero formally entered the world of politics and diplomacy when he became the personal assistant to Borromeo. In the 1580s, he was sent as a diplomat to France on behalf of Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy. He later became the tutor to the Duke's sons. Botero's experience as a priest, political thinker and diplomat gave him a unique perspective on the difficulties facing Catholic rulers who governed in the age of ongoing religious conflict. His publications offered advice to Catholic rulers and his later work became more militant in condemning toleration for heresy. See Descendre, *L'État du Monde*; Bireley, "Giovanni Botero: Founder of the Tradition."

¹²³ Botero continues by drawing a parallel between the cities of the Levant and Northern Europe, "... and in these days in England many cities have much increased within few years, both in people and in trade, through the resort of the Low Country people to it: and especially London, whereunto many thousands of families have resorted themselves." Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Greatness of Cities*, Book One, Chapter 3.

... The very same reason in a matter in these our days hath increased so much the city of Geneva, forasmuch as it hath offered entertainment to all comers out of France and Italy that have either forsaken or been exiled their countries for religion's sake.¹²⁴

From the Sephardic Jews who fled to the Ottoman Empire to the Huguenots who sought refuge in Geneva, Botero was keenly aware that persecuted religious minorities could enrich more tolerant cities with their capital and mercantile networks. His treatise lamented the economic losses incurred by the religious and ideological conflicts that persisted between Muslims and Catholics when he wrote, “Let us add to the aforesaid that the difference and enmity between the Mohammedans and us depriveth us in a manner of the commerce of Africa, and of the most part of the trade of the Levant.”¹²⁵

Despite Botero’s willingness to extol the economic and demographic virtues of providing religious sanctuary, the corpus of Botero’s work nonetheless upheld the righteousness of post-Tridentine Catholic ideals. While his support for the universalizing mission of the triumphant Catholic Church is more apparent in his later political writings, *On the Greatness of Cities* emphasized how religion is “of such force and might to amplify cities”:

Religion and the worship of God is a thing so necessary and of such importance as without all doubt it not only draweth a number of people with it but also causeth much commerce together. And the cities that in this kind excel and flourish in authority and reputation above all others have also the better means to increase

¹²⁴ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 1.

¹²⁵ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 11.

their power and glory.¹²⁶

Moreover, Botero issued a stern warning to rulers against the dangers of allowing people to follow a false religion. Indeed, the proliferation of heresy in a Catholic realm would be the ruin of Christian kings:

For such are the ruins of kings, the plague of kingdoms, the scandal of Christianity, the sworn enemies of the Church, nay rather of God, against whom, to the imitation of the ancient giants, they build up a new tower unto Babel which shall breed and bring unto them in the end confusion and utter ruin ... If this place would suffer it I could easily show that the greatest part of the loss of states and ruins of Christian princes have proceeded of this accursed variance in religion, through the which we are disarmed and deprived of the protection and favour of Almighty God, and have thrust into the hands of the Turks and Calvinists the weapons and the scourges of God's Divine justice against us. But it sufficeth here to advise princes that tread down the laws of God by that preposterous and wicked kind of government that they learn of Jeroboam and fear the issue of him whose acts they imitate, that they may hereafter the better beware by other men's harms.¹²⁷

Ultimately, Botero insisted that Catholic rulers maintain religious orthodoxy even if they employed religious asylum as a demographic and economic tool. As such, the internal contradictions within Botero's articulation of post-Tridentine *ragion di stato* mirrored the unresolved tensions in the ecclesiastical logic of *tolerantia*. Both concepts embodied the seemingly impossible demands that Duke Ferdinando faced by pursuing a

¹²⁶ Ibid., Book Two, Chapter 3. Botero celebrated how cities gathered people together so that they could more easily be governed, civilized, and converted. Botero linked his project to the larger civilizing mission of the universal Catholic cause by citing Jesuit colonial and evangelical efforts in Brazil, the New World and elsewhere. See Descendre, *L'État du Monde*; Bireley, "Giovanni Botero: Founder of the Tradition"; Headley, "Geography and Empire in the Late Renaissance."

¹²⁷ Botero, *A Treatise Concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Greatness of Cities*, Book Two, Chapter 3.

policy of tolerant and enlightened self-interest in Livorno.¹²⁸ After decades of infrastructural investments to improve the “commodiousness” of the port, the 1591/93 *Livornine* designated Livorno as a place of “refuge” by offering fiscal, criminal and religious asylum to foreigners and Jews. While the Catholic Medici regime hoped that their risky investment would flourish and generate “profit,” the complexity of the social experiment also risked building a pluralistic “tower of Babel.” In light of Botero’s criteria for urban success, the fledgling city of Livorno had reached a critical juncture.

Demographic Response: 1591-1689

It can be difficult to precisely define the contours of any rapidly changing population, and this task is particularly challenging in early modern Livorno, where the seasonal influx of sailors, soldiers, and slaves merged with the permanent and temporary residency of merchants, artisans, and others. In the decades preceding the *Livornine*, Livorno’s anomalous quality as a frontier zone created a demographic imbalance wherein the number of forced residents and slaves exceeded the free resident population.¹²⁹ [Fig. 3.15] As commemorated in Jacques Callott’s etching (c.1612-21) and [Fig. 3.16] Matteo Rosselli’s 1622 fresco, *Duke Ferdinando Orders Work on Livorno’s Fortifications*, Livorno’s infrastructural transformation depended upon the physical exertion of peasants, forced laborers, and slaves who drained the malarial swamps and built the fortified

¹²⁸ See chapter two for discussion of *tolerantia*.

¹²⁹ In 1592, the Florentine patrician Giovanni Rondinell estimated that roughly 1400 or 1500 slaves and forced laborers were employed in the construction of Livorno’s new city and port. He expressed this sentiment in a private letter written to a cardinal from Lorraine. For a transcription of this letter, see “Descrizione della Nuova Darsena di Livorno di Giovanni Rondinelli Patrizio Fiorentino,” in Giuseppe Gino Guarnieri, *Livorno medicea nel equadro delle sue attrezature portuali e della funzione economica-marittima (1577-1737)* (Pisa: Editrice Giardini, 1970), 253-257.

bastions. Despite this indecorous beginning, Livorno's skewed demographics adjusted with the mass immigration spurred by the *Livornine*.

Livorno's major construction projects attracted significant regional immigration amongst famished peasant seeking grain provisions and the possibility of employment. In contrast, most foreign merchants, entrepreneurs, and skilled craftspeople had to be enticed to the port with additional incentives and privileges granted *ad personam*.¹³⁰ Wealthier immigrants to the Tuscan coast preferred to settle in the more salubrious and established commercial city of Pisa.¹³¹ However, the regime incentivized property ownership in Livorno and made residence in the port a prerequisite for certain additional privileges. The Grand Duke and his agents cultivated personal relationships with potential merchants and investors whose talents and access to capital could benefit Livorno. For example, the Frenchman Marcantonio Bianchi was lured from Marseilles after the Duke granted him an *appalto* monopoly on soap production in Livorno.¹³² When Bianchi's twelve-person family arrived in Livorno in July 1591, regime officials offered them housing at a subsidized rate; by 1595, Bianchi was elected consul of the French

¹³⁰ Elena Fasano Guarini estimates that roughly two-thirds of Livorno's early immigrants came from Tuscany and nearby regions. The early 'foreign' immigrants included individuals from Greece, Liguria, Corsica, Ragusa, Lucca, and Provence. Elena Fasano Guarini, "Esenzioni e immigrazione a Livorno tra Sedicesimo e Diciassettesimo Secolo," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea: Atti de Convegno* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978), 56-75.

¹³¹ In 1602, a new mercantile loggia was constructed in Pisa using money collected from the foreign merchants resident in the city. See ASF, MP, 67, f. 154 (alternative pagination f. 239), dated April 18, 1602.

¹³² ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I, folio 75. Cited by Castignoli, "Le prime patenti consolari a Livorno," in Castignoli, Frattarelli Fischer, and Papi (eds), *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 68-91; Guillaume Calafat, "L'Institution de la coexistence: Les communautés et leurs droits à Livourne (1590-1630)," in David Paço, Mathilde Monges, and Laurent Tatarenko (eds), *Des religions dans la ville: ressorts et stratégies de coexistence dans l'Europe des XVIème-VIIème siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 83-102.

nation.¹³³ Immigrants and travellers to Livorno frequently sought protections and commercial privileges beyond those already granted in the *Livornine*.¹³⁴

In September 1601, the overseer of Livorno's construction office (the *Provveditore della Fabbrica*), Bastiano Balbiani, issued a census report that confirmed the demographic efficacy of Medici recruitment efforts during the first decade of the *Livornine*'s implementation. In his effort to count "all souls presently found in the city and surrounding district (*capitanato*) of Livorno" Balbiani revealed that Livorno had grown from a small village of roughly 530 permanent residents in 1591 to an established town with 4,975 total inhabitants by 1601.¹³⁵ While Livorno's total population had increased by over 800%, the Medici regime was keenly interested in assessing the nature of the town's changing demographics. As such, the *Provveditore*'s census subdivided Livorno's population into categories by gender, age, religion, and location of residence.¹³⁶ Based on the data provided in Balbiani's report, it can be calculated that at

¹³³ In July 1591, a Medici bureaucrat reported Bianchi's arrival in Livorno. "E venuto quel Marco à Bianchi di Marsilia con la sua famiglia li metterò in casa ch'era del Rossermini oggi di S.A.S. poi che non trovo dove si possino mettere senza pigione ... Di Pisa a di 26 Luglio 1591." ASF, MP, 828, f. 273. For description of the housing subsidies offered to the Bianchi family, see ASF, MP, 828, f. 420.

¹³⁴ In August 1619, five Jews cited the *Livornine* in their supplication to the Grand Duke in which they sought permission to make distilled spirits (*acquavita*) and then wanted to travel freely throughout the Duchy to sell the product. ASF, Auditore poi Segretario delle Riformagioni, 32, f. 196.

¹³⁵ ASF, MP, 2145, folios 8-11, dated September 1, 1601. "Rassegna fatta per me Bastiano Balbiani di tutte le anime che di presente si trovano in tutti il Capitanato di Livorno con il n.ro delle case di Livorno nuovo, e vecchio et il numero delle famiglie di fuori, e drento con il vocabolario de luoghi della compagna fatta con diligentia di primo di Settembre 1601."

¹³⁶ *Ibid.* Balbiani's 1601 census indicated that 1,050 Catholic adult males and 904 female civilians lived inside the city walls with 527 male and 393 female children. He likewise enumerated the number of adults and children living in the city's fortresses and residing outside of the city walls. In the Fortezza Vecchia Balbiani counted 60 men, 27 women, 25 male children and 13 female children. In the Fortezza Nuova he counted 120 men, 35 women, 19 male children and 13 female children. In the "*capitanato*" outside of the city walls he counted 218 adult males and 194 female civilians living outside of the city walls with 119 male and 92 female children. The port's remaining civilian residents included 76 female "prostitutes," 44

the turn of the seventeenth century, approximately 11.7% of Livorno's total population was comprised of soldiers, roughly 6.8% were confined residents, and an unknown percentage were slaves.¹³⁷ Although the census categorically delimited Livorno's Jewish (2.49%) and Genoese (.88%) populations, all other foreign immigrant groups were indistinguishable from the general adult head count. Consequently, Livorno's flourishing Greek community was not demarcated within the 1601 census nor was the sporadic presence of crypto-Protestants, schismatic Greeks, and other non-Catholics. However, the report did highlight the pronounced gender imbalance that existed among Livorno's Christian population, wherein adult males (65.8%) grossly outnumbered adult females (34.2%). Since Jewish immigrants in Livorno migrated as family units and not as single individuals, the resident Jewish population did not display a similar gender imbalance.¹³⁸

Balbiani carefully detailed the vocations and trades that were practiced amongst Livorno's growing population.¹³⁹ The many artisans working in the port included 22 bakers (*fornai*), 10 shoemakers (*calzolai*), 9 tailors (*sarti*), 3 soap makers (*saponieri*) and

male "Genoese" laborers, and 77 adult "Jews" (38 male, 39 female) with 47 Jewish children (26 boys, 21 girls).

¹³⁷ Ibid. Balbiani left the heading, "total number of slaves and forced laborers," blank. Livorno's non-civilian populations included 582 male soldiers and 340 "*confinati*" whose criminal convictions forced them to work for Livorno's *Fabbrica* (100) or on projects in the surrounding region (240). The soldier population was international in character, and included Germans, Swiss, Greeks, Spaniards, and French among others.

¹³⁸ Although Balbiani's report listed 124 Jews in 1601, Trivellato suggests that there were likely 134 Jews in Livorno in this year and that they represented roughly 3.9% of Livorno's civil population, excluding soldiers and forced residents. There was initially a low percentage of Jews in Livorno because most immigrant merchants settled in Pisa. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*, 54; See discussion by Elena Fasano Guarini, "La popolazione" in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici, Livorno: progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 199-215.

¹³⁹ ASF, MP, 2145, folios 8-11, "Appresso sarà nota di tutte le arte che si sono in Livorno nuovo e vecchio."

2 mattress makers (*materassai*). Livorno's surrounding countryside hosted 23 farmers (*contadini*) in addition to 76 prostitutes. Local businesses in the port employed an additional 36 innkeepers (*alberghi*), 34 grocers and cheese vendors (*pizzicagnoli e caciauoli*), and 5 barbers (*barbieri*).¹⁴⁰ Three priests worked within the city of Livorno, and regional monasteries hosted an additional 32 friars and 2 priests.¹⁴¹ In 1601, Livorno's ongoing construction projects employed at least 48 free manual laborers (*manovali di muratori*), 46 carpenters (*scarpellini*) and 11 wood mongers (*legnauoli*). Meanwhile, the port's maritime and commercial activities benefitted from over a hundred seamen for hire (*marinati a casati*), 23 peddlers (*merciai*), 12 porters (*facchini*), 9 resident merchants (*mercanti*), and 6 commercial agents (*sensali*). In addition to Livorno's aforementioned permanent residents, Balbiani estimated that on September 1, 1601 roughly 664 visiting sailors and galley men were present on ships docked in the harbor.¹⁴²

In 1606, Livorno was formally elevated to the status of 'city' by means of a solemn ceremony. [Fig. 3.17] As indicated in the contemporaneous plan of Livorno attributed to the architect Claudio Cogorano, the city's urban development had progressed at a steady pace. The pentagonal shape of Livorno's fortified bastions

¹⁴⁰ Ibid. This discussion of the vocations that Balbiani listed is not exhaustive. Livorno's 76 prostitutes were listed as a sub-category within the general population census and thus prostitution was not listed as a local business.

¹⁴¹ Ibid. There were 11 Capuchin friars in Livorno, an additional 15 friars at the pilgrimage church of Montenero, one friar in Livorno's new Duomo, 5 friars of St. John, and two priests in the towns of Antignano and Salviani.

¹⁴² Ibid. Balbiani estimated that an additional 664 sailors and galley men were present on ships docked in the harbor. He calculated this figure based on the presence of 76 smaller boats containing an estimated 304 men in addition to seven larger vessels docked in the harbor.

demarcated the city's perimeter, and intramural construction conformed to the rationalized logic of an orthogonal street pattern. The main street of the Via Ferdinanda provided a transportation axis that connected Livorno's harbor to the city. This prominent thoroughfare converged with others in the very center of town where a large rectangular piazza hosted the city's central Church (Duomo).¹⁴³ However, despite significant progress on the port's urban infrastructure, the town's state of completion was nowhere near the projected view of the city that was frescoed [Fig. 3.18] onto the walls of Palazzo Pitti in 1609. Moreover, propagandistic celebrations of Livorno's urban success bore little reflection on the demographic crisis that faced Tuscan officials during these same years.

Despite Livorno's phenomenal demographic gains between 1591 and 1601, by 1604 recent émigrés began fleeing Livorno in droves. Over the span of five years the port witnessed a 42% decline in population from a population of 8,663 in 1604 to number only 5,046 residents by 1609.¹⁴⁴ The regime meticulously sought to diagnose the reasons for demographic decline. Although officials reported daily on deaths caused by plague,

¹⁴³ One report from 1599 states, "The houses of the new city of Livorno that are now constructed have arrived to the piazza; the street in the middle of the two other streets extends to 500 *braccia* [a Florentine measurement of length] ... this year they have relocated 3,200 people to Livorno, they have installed two fountains in Livorno, one will pump 20 units [*onici*] of water and the other 10, and now they must guide one to the new port and other to the old port ... The Capuchin convent is finished and there are 13 friars and they are installed in such a manner that they do not fear the Turks and they have a cistern for water. In new Livorno they have cultivated a garden that has provided ... artichokes and herbs." "La Case della nuova Città di Livorno fabbricato fino allora sono arrivate fino alla Piazza, la strada del mezzo con due altre strade si estende fino a braccia Cinquecento et questo anno si sono comunicate in Livorno da tremila duecento anime. Sono condotte dentro in Livorno due fontane, che una getterà da 20 onici d'acqua, et l'altra dieci et ... Il convento dei Cappuccini e finito del tutto, vi stanno 12 frati, et è la fabbrica accomodati in maniera che non hanno da temere de Turchi, et vi si è fatto una cisterna che tiene un'acqua eccellentissima. Il Livorno nuovo si è fatto un Giardino, che ha dato tutto quelle Verno carciofi, et erbacci." ASF, MP, 1829, f. 221.

¹⁴⁴ Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*, 54.

the *Livornese* fever, and other epidemics, administrators expressed the most concern over the economic reasons for the port's alarming decline. One official reported that the majority of families were forced to flee Livorno due to new debts contracted as a result of the exorbitant cost of food and provisions in the port:

This year there has not been any earnings here, there have been very few boats, no corsairing, and money is not flowing; and in certain sectors the artisans are lamenting [that] ... they can't touch a third of that which they did in other years, the price of living much higher than in Florence and the rents extremely high, they went contracting debts with the hope of making it up ... [but] it has been completely the contrary.¹⁴⁵

A similar analysis was reiterated by another official, "one hoped that the prizes of the knights would regenerate these people but instead of utility, as your highness know well, this has only caused damage."¹⁴⁶ Indeed, Livorno's fragile early economy was not just tolerant of piracy but was wholly dependent on the presence of black market goods.

Livorno's officials sought new ways to attract and retain solvent immigrants. On several occasions the regime sent welcoming parties to receive incoming ships who

¹⁴⁵ On June 29, 1609, Signore Giuliano Chesi wrote to the Grand Duke, "Che quest'anno non ci è stato guadagni, sendoci venuto pochi navigli, non è corso, et non corre denari, e di certi tratti li artigiani si lamentano dicendo che non ne anno tucho, et nonne toccano il terso di quello facevano l'altri anni, li viveri molo più cari che celi a Firenze, et le Pigiore carissime, si sono andati trattenendo facendo debito con speranza di rifarsi alla venuta de bertonni et e stato tutto il contrario." ASF, MP, 1302, f. 5.

¹⁴⁶ On June 29, 1609, Ugolino Barisoni wrote from Florence, "Era pubblica voce già alcuni giorni che da Pasqua in quà mancassero in Livorno più de 50 famiglie, che havendo io fatto ricercare così per curiosità se ciò fosse vero, non ne trovai tante à gran pezzo ... ma dico bene a VS che se la giustizia eseguisce secondo che vien fatto instantia di far carcere per debito, che molti più se ne sarebbe andati, ma invece di mettergli in prigione, vado procurando di comporli, facendoli sborsare qualcosa alli creditori, à conto del capitale, e procuro di dar tempo à questi poveretti di poter rimediare alle cose sue se sarà possibile, il che io tengo per impossibile al lungo andare, poiché la Città di Livorno non ha' poveri, ne entrate che possi mantenere questo popolo corso qui per le gran spese che si facevano per il passato, le quali essendo hora scemate, manca loro ogni capitale, si sperava che la preda della Carovana dovesse ricreare questo Popolo, ma invece dell'utile, come VS sa benissimo gli ha arrecato danno; le cose della fabbrica VS sa ancora che sono scemate più che per metà, et se bene SA spende per mio credere più di trenta mille F. ogni anno nel Presidio, questo non apporta nessuno giornamento, per rispetto delle cantine, et delli letti che tiene il Colonello che tirano tutto questo denaro a se, e la Città ne viene a sentire più presto danno che utile." ASF, MP, 1302, f. 6.

reported immigrant arrivals. However, as the *Provveditore* Ludovico Niccolini expressed in August 1610, many of the Jewish refugees arriving from Portugal were impoverished and considered to be, “of little quality and even fewer resources.”¹⁴⁷ In April 1609, the Spanish King Philip III issued an edict of expulsion that forced Iberian Moriscos to flee Spanish territory. Shortly thereafter, the desperate Medici regime began courting these refugees to convince them to relocate to Livorno. Working through a Medici agent in Marseilles, the Tuscan regime vigorously sought to recruit wealthier Moriscos. However, even after the more solvent refugees chose to migrate to North Africa and Constantinople instead, the Medici regime still lobbied to be the host of dozens of impoverished Moriscos.¹⁴⁸ In September 1610, several Morisco families arrived in Livorno. The immigrants were provided housing by the state and were assigned jobs according to their skills as builders, laborers, and farmers.¹⁴⁹ However, even these refugees had little desire to remain in Livorno, and as the *Provveditore* reported, “among them is a great poverty,

¹⁴⁷ “Non sento più rumore della venuta de Moreschi, et io non vorrei perdere l’occasione d’Appigionare le Case pero se può farmi gratia avvisarmi qualche cosa, acciò sappia, come mi devo governare non sarà che bene. Domenica compare qua una Fantana che veniva di Catacchie con 47 passeggeri, tra uomini, donne, e ragazzi, e per quello sento hanno pensiero di fermarsi nelli stati di SAS Ser.ma e qui in particolare ma sono gente di poca qualità, e credo meno facoltà. Da uno in poi nominato Pietro Lopez Brandan di Lisbona che deve sia ragionevole facoltà et aspetta ... In Livorno @ iiii Agosto 1610. Lod. Niccol. Prov.” ASF, MP, 1303, f. 250.

¹⁴⁸ For archival transcriptions pertinent to the flight of the Moriscos from Marseilles to Livorno, see Abdeljelil Temimi, “Le passage des Morisques à Marseille, Livourne, et Istanbul d’après de nouveaux documents italiens,” *Revue d’Histoire Maghrébine*, 55-56 (1989): 33-47.

¹⁴⁹ ASF, MP, 1303, ff. 247-8, “Si serio il processo di quelli Navicellai et il S.re Governatore li manderà il sunto e il Disegno dal quale vedrà succintamente ogni particolare li Moreschi, venuti di Porto Ferraio s’accomodarono tutti in tre Case e si e fatto loro quelle cortesie si e potuto e così andrò facendo li artisti si sono accomodati la maggiori parti e li altri si andranno accomodato secondo li loro mestieri, ci e qualche muratore e manovale, che sono stati impiegati et anco ci e qualche contadino, che questi vanno per opera e se fussino maggiore quantità troverebbero ancora ripiego. Li Padri di Monte Nero piglierebbero una famiglia di questi contadini, et 3 ne piglierebbe, fra qualche settimana ... In Livorno @ viii Settembre 1610 Lod.co Niccolini Provveditore.”

which was visible as soon as their women began selling their clothes. I also hear that some of them are plotting to go to Barbary with a ship, which is a sign that they still have the Ottoman law in their hearts.”¹⁵⁰

As the Medici regime’s socio-economic and urban experiment in Livorno teetered on the verge of disaster, the impending demographic crisis encouraged the regime to become ever more lenient concerning the character, religious persuasion, and mores of the immigrants whom they welcomed into the port. In February 1610, the Catholic English consul Thomas Hunt warned Livorno’s regional *Provveditore* about the arrival of three English ship captains who he denounced as “men of nefarious business”, “not Catholic” and “rebels of the King.” Hunt urged officials to be vigilant because these captains would likely “do something to lose the grace of their Highness and of the entire [English] *nazione*.”¹⁵¹ Despite such stern warnings, the regime displayed extreme leniency towards reformed pirates whose opportunistic conversions to Catholicism were often rewarded with a Grand Ducal corsairing licenses. Likewise, repentant heretics condemned by the Pisan Inquisition were quickly reintegrated into early seventeenth century Livorno, particularly if their reconciliation with the Catholic faith was combined with marriage to a local Livornese woman. Two Englishmen interrogated by the Pisan

¹⁵⁰ “Li moreschi, si vanno avvitando, con impiegarsi in quello trovano, et io non manco di darli quelli indirizzi posso, et parere che il Prov. Besi facci il medesimo si come mi scrive VS m.to Ill ma fra loro ci deve essere una Gran Povertà, vedendosi di quando in quando delle loro Donne che vendono delli loro Abiti. Et sento anco che alcuni di loro trattano d’Andare in Barberia, con un vascello, che ci, è alla spedizione segno che hanno la legge Ottomana nel Core ... In Livorno @ xi di Sett. 1610 Lod. Niccolini.” ASF, MP, 1303, f. 249.

¹⁵¹ “Et perché questi dice sono uomini di male affare e di mala vita non sendo Cattolici et Ribelli del Re, dubita che non faccino in questo porto qualche levata o qualche cosa da fare perdere la Gratie di loro altissime a tutto la loro Natione.” ASF, MP, 1303, f. 206.

Inquisition in the early 1600s subsequently became consul and vice-consul of the English nation.¹⁵² Such individuals highlight the rapid social ascendancy that was possible within the frontier society of early seventeenth century Livorno.

Despite the gravity of Tuscan demographic decline at the time of Duke Ferdinando's death in 1609, Livorno's population stabilized and began to grow during the reigns of Duke Cosimo II (1609-1621) and Duke Ferdinando II (1621-1670). Although the 1630 plague adversely affected Livorno's population, by 1642 the port hosted 12,000 residents including several mercantile *nazioni*, or "nations" empowered through resident consuls. However, damage caused by an Easter Day earthquake in April 1642 was compounded by a typhus fever outbreak in 1648, and both events contributed to a brief decline in population by the mid-seventeenth century. During the reign of Duke Cosimo III (1670-1723) the port endured repeated malarial and typhoid outbreaks, the most severe of which occurred in 1684-5.¹⁵³ Despite these persistent demographic challenges, Livorno's fiscal, social, and religious incentives helped replenish the port's population, and the Medici's socio-economic experiment was resilient over time. By 1689, Livorno's growth exceeded the expectations of city planners and the port hosted a resident population of over twenty-one thousand, including prominent mercantile communities of Sephardic Jews, Orthodox and Catholic Greeks, Protestant Dutch, English, French, Catholic and schismatic Armenians.

¹⁵² For more on the Englishmen Thomas Hunt and Christopher Streamer, see Barbara Donati, *Tra Inquisizione e Granducato: storie di Inglesi nella Livorno del primo Seicento* (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2010).

¹⁵³ For analysis of the demographic crisis caused by the *Livornese* fever in 1684, see Renato Ghezzi, "La crisi demografica del 1684 a Livorno," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* III (1995): 185-217.

One census report compiled by an anonymous regime official in 1689 stated that Livorno's total population reached 21,194, including 10,291 Catholic adults and 2,677 Catholic children within the city and two fortresses.¹⁵⁴ Although the criteria for the census is not entirely clear, the total population did not presumably include soldiers, visitors, or people held in quarantine at the port's lazarettos. However, it did identify groups living in the galley slave barracks, or '*bagno*', including 845 Turkish slaves, 477 Christian criminal forced labourers (*forzati*), and 188 free Christian workers (*buonavoglie*). The remaining population was categorized by their location and vocation in the port, or by their national or religious affiliation. The groups listed included religious clerics (109), lay clerics (86), prostitutes (214), incarcerated individuals (20) and men and women ill or working in city hospitals (76). Additionally, it listed 1,000 "foreigners" and 41 "Turks in various houses," likely indicating privately owned domestic slaves. Finally, the report identified several groups by religion, listing 5,000 "Jews," 100 "heretics," 63 "Armenian Catholics" and 7 "Schismatic Armenians."

Much like the demographic report of Balbiani from 1601, Livorno's 1689 census highlights how early modern data can defy clear-cut statistical analysis by concealing or even fabricating as much information as it reveals. Some of the demographic figures cited in the 1689 census can be verified through other sources. For example, Christian criminals and Turkish and Moorish galley slaves confined in Livorno's *bagno* did constitute roughly 7-8% of the port's total population throughout the late seventeenth

¹⁵⁴ ASF, MP, 2328a, unpagged folio. This document is published in Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi: Inedite o rare* (Livorno: U. Bastogi Editore, 1888), 174. Pardi claims that only 17,000 people lived in Livorno's city walls in 1684. See G. Pardi, "Disegno della storia demografica di Livorno," *Archivio Storico Italiano* LXXVI (1918): 1-96, especially 38-39.

century.¹⁵⁵ However, other figures stated in the 1689 census are far less reliable. Although Portuguese and Spanish speaking Sephardic Jews constituted Livorno's most numerous and economically powerful minority group, the report's stated number (5,000) was grossly inflated. Scholars using alternative sources estimate that the actual Jewish population in Livorno in 1689 would have been approximately 3,500.¹⁵⁶ When adjusted to even the most conservative estimates, in late seventeenth century Jewish residents represented roughly 11-13% of Livorno's population and proportionally their financial power was even greater.¹⁵⁷ The inaccurate reporting of the Jewish population calls into question the census's basis for determining that "100 heretics" and "1,000 foreigners" were counted in the port. These suspiciously even rounded numbers contrasted sharply with the minute accounting for the port's other residents. On one hand, this imprecision may have been caused by an innocuous information gap that prevented regime officials from accessing accurate data for individuals who not associated with parish churches. However, it is also possible that the regime knowingly participated in a form of demographic dissimulation to exaggerate the port's wealthy Jewish population while underestimating the port's "heretical" Protestant or schismatic Greek presence. In either

¹⁵⁵ On May 26, 1684, the Provveditore of the Galleys, Matteo Prini, reported 750 slaves, 708 forced laborers, and 170 *bonavoglie* residing in the *bagno*. With an urban population of roughly 19,000, *bagno* residents represented roughly 8.5 % of Livorno's total population in 1684. ASF, MP, 2086, folio 497.

¹⁵⁶ Trivellato proposes that there were 3,500 Jews in Livorno in 1689. Guarini estimates that Livorno's Jewish population increased from 124 in 1601 to reach 2,397 by 1693 and 3,687 in 1758. See Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 54-55; Guarini, "Esenzioni e immigrazione a Livorno tra sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo," 56-75.

¹⁵⁷ A tax assessment from 1642 listed 219 registered merchants active in Livorno. These included 10 English merchants, 8 Flemish merchants, 33 merchants "of diverse nations," 12 Florentine merchants, 80 Jewish "merchants and brokers," and 48 merchants "with warehouses." The financial contribution of the Jewish merchants and brokers exceeded that of any other group. ASF, Pratica Segreta 169, f. 141. See discussion by Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 137.

case, census data for Livorno's Catholic population effaced national distinctions between Greek, French, or other individuals of foreign origin. While the exact number of foreigners and non-Catholics in early modern Livorno remains hard to quantify, it is clear that the Medici's economic and demographic dependence on these immigrant populations restructured traditional social hierarchies. As a result, seventeenth century Livorno revealed patterns of urbanism that reflected a radical reordering of community dynamics.

IV. MOSQUES WITHOUT MINARETS, A GHETTO WITHOUT WALLS: MINORITY TOPOGRAPHIES AND THE TACTICS OF INCLUSION

Livorno and the Grand Tour

Livorno's rapid urban and demographic growth during the late sixteenth century did little to remedy the city's indecorous reputation. Travelers en route to Florence and Pisa found ample opportunity to disparage the exiles, criminals, sailors, and slaves who originally populated the Medici port. Although Livorno was recognized as a flourishing commercial center, the city's population was perceived as embodying the uncivilized characteristics typically associated with extra-European frontiers. In 1617, the Anglican gentleman Fynes Moryson published one of the earliest testimonials that articulated these unsavory qualities:

The Duke made this place as it were a sanctuary to offenders, upon whom he used to impose for punishment, either to dwell there forever, or at least for some yeeres, and to adde one or more houses to the building: so as the City was now fine and populous, but it was filled with Citizens guilty of crimes, and of no civil conversation. My selfe hearing that they were such men, perhaps out of prejudicate opinion, did thinke their lookes barbarous, which me looke more wearily to my selfe, and to those things I had with me.¹

Despite the growing affluence of Livorno's international merchant class, travel writers in the mid-seventeenth century ridiculed the port's local culture as debased and ignoble. The English priest and royal tutor, Richard Lassels, expressed this viewpoint in 1670:

I found not any Academy of wits here nor any records of any learned men of this town. All the Latin here is only *Meum* and *Teum* and their wits are

¹ This description was based on his visit to the city in 1594. Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary: Containing His Ten Years Travel Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohemia, Switzerland, Netherland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland and Ireland* (1617), Vol. I (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 315.

exercised here how to make good bargains, not good books. Indeed what should the Muses do here amongst the horrible noise of chains, of Carts, of balling Seamen, of clamorous Porters, and where the Slaves of Barbary are able to fright all learning out of the Town with their looks, as all Latin with their Language. Yet I must confess, they study here *belle Lettere* ... if the true *belle lettere* be Letters of Exchange.²

Although Livorno offered few artistic marvels and none of the classical antiquity that typically attracted visitors of the Grand Tour, Lassels and his contemporaries recognized that the port was “famous for its commerce.”³ Furthermore, they described its strategic importance as both an “entrepôt for all of the merchandise coming from the Levant” and as “the mouth which letteth in that food which fatteth this State.”⁴

Despite Livorno’s dismissal by the connoisseurs of high culture, many visitors marveled at the city’s modern urban design, ethnic diversity, and apparent religious liberty.⁵ [Fig. 4.1] Indeed, the frontier city generated social patterns and forms of religious expression that were intriguing to many contemporaries. For example, François Maximilien Misson’s 1691 travel narrative, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, introduced Livorno

² Richard Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy or a Compleat Journey through Italy* (Paris: Vincent du Moutier, 1670), 232-234.

³ The French Calvinist Jacob Spon described Livorno as “famous for its commerce but useless for my curiosity.” “Livourne est une ville fameuse pour le négoce, mais inutile pour ma curiosité.” Jacob Spon, *Voyage d’Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece, et du Levant*, Vol. I (Lyon: Chez Antoine Cellier, 1678), 35.

⁴ The French Misson described, “cette ville est entrepôt de toutes les marchandises du Levant.” Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie* (1691), Vol. IV (La Haye: 1702-1717), 76; The English Lassels offered the analogy of the port as the “mouth” of the state. Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*, 232; See also Davide Ultimieri, *Livorno descritto dai viaggiatori Francesi (1494-1836)* (Livorno: Editrice L'Informazione, 2000), 18-20.

⁵ The authors of Grand Tour travel literature borrowed liberally from one another and occasionally repeated certain formulaic descriptions verbatim. In Livorno, this collective literary borrowing reinforced three tropes about the city: the visible and uncouth presence of Turkish slaves in the port, the protections granted by the Grand Duke to the wealthy Jews (whose population estimates were grossly exaggerated), and the multinational character of the port’s population. Mario Curreli, “Scrittori inglesi a Livorno nel Seicento,” *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* XI (2004): 53-82.

as a “completely new city,” with “beautiful fortifications covered in stone, ... relatively big, rectilinear and parallel” streets, and houses “of equal height and almost all are painted externally.”⁶ Misson’s physical description of the city was not limited to its formal qualities. He offered a detailed synopsis of the Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim spaces that were located within and around the city:

Protestants marry aboard English, Dutch, Danish, and other ships that meet in the port, and there they baptize their children. They have a cemetery outside and near the city joining the glacis. The Turks and Jews have them as well (there are a number of Jews, some very rich). The latter ones don’t have any marking on their clothing that identifies them, nor do they in London or Amsterdam; elsewhere it is not like this.⁷

[Fig. 4.2] Livorno’s minority topographies featured prominently within the personal manuscripts and published travel narratives of Europeans with diverse confessional backgrounds.⁸ While Misson boasted about Livorno’s Protestant cemeteries, he also went to the slave prison to see the, “small mosques decorated with the 5 or 6 ostrich eggs that the Turkish slaves have there.”⁹ Likewise, the Englishman Richard Lassels visited Livorno’s Greek United Church, and in 1691 his conational William Acton, “went out of curiosity and saw the Jews’ Synagogue in the time of their

⁶ The first edition was published in 1691. Maximilien Misson, Vol. III, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie* (La Haye: Chez Henry Van Builderen, 1698), 268-269.

⁷ Ibid., “Les Protestants se marient à bord des vaisseaux Anglois, Hollandois, Danois, &c. qui se rencontrent au port; & ils y font aussi baptiser leurs enfants. (Les Juifs sont en grand nombre, & il y en de fort riches.) Ils ont un cimetière hors & proche de la ville joignant le glacis. Les Turcs & les Juifs y en ont aussi. Ceux ci n’ont aucune marque dans leurs habits, qui les fasse connaître, non plus qu’à Londres, ni à Amsterdam: ailleurs il n’en est pas ainsi.”

⁸ The most popular travel narratives were republished in multiple editions long after the original author was deceased. Since multiple versions were published under the name of the original author, the authorship of later editions cannot be precisely determined.

⁹ Ibid., “Il faut voir le grand Hôpital où couchent les Galériens, & les petites Mosquées ornées de 5 ou 6 oeufs d’Autruches, qu’y ont les Esclaves Turcs.”

Devotions.”¹⁰ In highlighting Livorno’s foreign and non-Catholic landmarks, Misson praised the Medici regime’s tolerant policies, which he claimed fostered an environment in which, “merchants of every country and religion live in complete liberty.”¹¹ However, not all visitors perceived Livorno’s non-Catholic spaces with such benign curiosity. After several sojourns in the port between 1704 and 1710, the French Dominican missionary, Jean-Baptiste Labat, observed that Livorno’s Jews were “protected in such a manner that there is a Tuscan proverb that is better to harm the Grand Duke than a Jew,” and then added, “this tolerance does no honor to a Christian nation [that should] forget nothing to preserve in itself the faith in all its purity.”¹² From Misson’s unrestrained celebration of the port’s religious liberty to Labat’s condemnation of the Medici’s excessive *tolerantia*, Livorno’s minority topographies elicited strong and diverse reactions among contemporaries. Collectively, their testimony revealed a growing awareness of the potential benefits—and perceived dangers—of religious and ethnic pluralism.

Whether Misson was disingenuous or simply naïve, his description of Livorno made little attempt to distinguish between forms of religious expression that were officially sanctioned by the Tuscan regime, such as the Jewish synagogue and cemetery, and practices that were only tacitly accepted or begrudgingly allowed, such as the slaves’

¹⁰ Lassels, *The Voyage of Italy*; William Acton, *A New Journal of Italy containing what is most remarkable of the antiquities of Rome, Savoy and Naples with observations made upon the strength, beauty and situation of some other towns and forts* (London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1691), 13.

¹¹ “Livorne est un Port libre, où les Marchands de tout pays & de toute Religion vivent en pleine liberté.” Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, Vol. IV, 75-76.

¹² “[Les Juifs] sont protégés de manière, qui c’est un proverbe Toscane, qu’il vaudroit mieux battre le Grand Duc qu’un Juif ... Cette tolérance ne fais pas honneur à une Nation Chrétienne, qui n’oublie rien pour conserver chez-elle la Foi dans toute sa pureté.” Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Voyages du P. Labat*, Tome II (Paris: Delespine, 1730), 135-6.

mosques or the Protestant cemetery. In practice, however, the privileges granted to the port's Jewish, Protestant, Muslim and Greek Orthodox minorities varied greatly according to changing economic, diplomatic, and theological considerations. By the time of Misson's 1687 visit, the English community had been repeatedly denied access to a recognized Anglican minister and the practice of staging Protestant rituals aboard ships in the harbor had come under increasing scrutiny.¹³ Consequently, the numerous Protestants within Livorno's prominent English and Dutch merchant *nazioni* were forced to gather secretly in private home chapels and bury their dead in unsanctified suburban cemetery plots.

Whereas Muslim slaves could perform their ritual washings and daily prayers in designated spaces within their prison confinement, Livorno's free Muslim visitors did not officially have access to such spaces. Even Livorno's Catholic Greeks were forced to share a church altar with their clandestine schismatic Orthodox Greek counterparts.¹⁴ Although Livorno's Jewish *nazione* was granted access to a recognized synagogue, papal pressure and international diplomacy prevented the Catholic Tuscan Duchy from officially granting equivalent privileges to the port's other non-Catholics. Nonetheless,

¹³ Misson was likely familiar with the scandal that emerged in 1685 after the Englishman William Upton refused to baptize his son in Livorno's Duomo despite the insistence of the Florentine curate and Medici regime. Instead, Upton had his child baptized by a "heretic" preacher onboard a boat in the harbor. For more on this scandal and Protestant practices in Livorno, see Stefano Villani, "Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration: The English Nation in Livorno in the Seventeenth Century," in F. Barbierato and A. Veronese (eds), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Dissents: Conflicts and Plurality in Renaissance Europe* (Pisa: Edizioni il Campano, 2012), 97-124; Stefano Villani, "Alcune note sulle recinzioni dei cimiteri acattolici livornesi," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* XI (2004): 35-51; Stefano Villani, "Cum scandolo catholicorum: La presenza a Livorno di predicatori," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* VII (1999): 9-58; Giacomo Panessa and Mauro del Nista (eds), *Intercultura e protestantesimo nella Livorno delle nazioni: la congregazione Olandese-Alemanica* (Livorno: Debatte O.S.R.L., 2002).

¹⁴ Gianciacomo Panessa, *Le comunità greche a Livorno: Tra integrazione e chiusura nazionale* (Livorno: Belforte, 1991). See the detailed discussion of Greek dissimulation below.

the regime had a strong incentive to refrain from interfering with practices that occurred quietly, behind closed doors, and beyond the view of papal inquisitors. As a result, the accommodation of religious minorities in Livorno comprised a delicate and sometimes contradictory dance that wavered between visibility and invisibility, acculturation and social segregation, tacit toleration and expressed prohibition.

Although François Misson's travel narrative presented a simplified characterization of Livorno's religious pluralism, it is likely that the Frenchman was more aware of these subtleties than his published text admitted. Indeed, his own experience in the port was colored by his status as a Huguenot refugee forced to flee France after King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes and issued the repressive measures contained in the Edict of Fontainebleau (1685).¹⁵ Despite Misson's euphemistic and unqualified claim for Livorno's "complete liberty," archival records reveal that most Huguenot refugees who passed through Livorno did not feel entirely safe. Although the Medici regime shielded them from the scrutiny of Inquisitional authorities, in 1686 several Huguenots expressed concern that they could become sacrificial pawns used by the Grand Duchy to strengthen its diplomatic relationship with the French King.¹⁶ The

¹⁵ Huguenot worship had been selectively permitted in France under the Edict of Nantes (although it was confined to the suburbs of select cities). The Edict of Fontainebleau effectively resulted in the expulsion of all Huguenots, whose property was confiscated by the state. King Louis XIV's severe and inflexible treatment of Huguenots contrasted sharply with the Grand Duchy's manifest toleration of religious minorities in Livorno. See chapter two for comparative discussion. Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

¹⁶ On May 26-27, 1686, Medici regime officials reported on the presence of French Huguenots in Livorno who were fleeing France as a result of the Edict of Fontainebleau. "Questa mattina è partito di qua Monsù Matti Negotiante Francese, con un dei suoi Fratelli, che passa in Germania fuggitivo di Francia, per essere della Religione Riformata, non volendo convenire con I pii sentimenti del Suo Rè ... essendo Ugonotti, e fuggitivi di Francia, cercano ricovero in quei luoghi dove credano poter esercitar liberamente la loro

contrast between Misson's idealization of Livorno and the underlying tensions revealed in Medici archival sources is an instructive reminder that scholars must separate the myth of Livorno's religious freedom from the reality of its practice.

With this objective in mind, this chapter examines how the *Livornine* privileges influenced but did not nullify the defensive social and urban strategies employed by Livorno's minority groups. When discussions of the port's urban development began in the 1570s, regime officials envisioned a city punctuated by segregated mercantile *fondacos* in emulation of those in Venice.¹⁷ However, over the course of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the gridded streets of Livorno's frontier settlement emerged unconstrained by *fondacos*, an official Jewish ghetto, or even powerful local gentry. In stark contrast with the urban segregation imposed on Jews in Florence, Siena, and elsewhere in Italy, the 1591/93 *Livornine* guaranteed foreign and Jewish immigrants the ability to purchase property and settle in an unrestricted manner throughout the city.

However, while Livorno's foreign and non-Catholic populations actively shaped the city's urban development, the practice of religious toleration in the port was always partial, tenuous, and subject to continual negotiation between individuals, community leaders, and secular and religious authorities. This chapter analyzes how political and economic *ragion di stato* led Medici regime officials to develop an expedient two-fold approach to the social and urban management of Livorno's religious minorities. While

Religione, non tenendosi qui totalmente sicuri, per timore delle richieste che possa fare di loro il Re." ASF, MP, 2328A, unpagged folios.

¹⁷ See chapter two and chapter three for discussion of Livorno's urban development in relation to the Venetian *fondacos* and Jewish ghetto.

the Grand Dukes publically encouraged Catholic assimilation and Jewish consolidation in the port, they tacitly tolerated dissimulation amongst Protestants, Muslims, and other non-Catholics. Although this strategy met resistance from Inquisitional authorities, foreign leaders, and local residents alike, it allowed regime officials to practice religious toleration judiciously while simultaneously promoting the fiction of religious orthodoxy amongst Livorno's Catholic majority.

“Commerce” and the “True Religion”: Instructions for Livorno's Governor

When Jacopo Inghirami and his successor, Giulio Barbolani da Montauto, were appointed to serve as the Governor of Livorno in 1618 and 1621, respectively, they were each given a list of twenty-four instructions that outlined their responsibilities as the Medici regime's official representative in Livorno.¹⁸ Compiled in accordance with the orders of the Grand Duke Cosimo II of Tuscany (r. 1609-1621), the preamble of the document stressed how the augmentation of Livorno's population and share in international commerce were among the regime's primary concerns:

Among the most important things to our service to which we continually turn our thoughts and apply our spirit is the good government of our city and port of Livorno, so that it is not only preserved but that it grows in population and in commerce by land and by sea through the continual concourse of ships, merchandise, merchant, and foreign inhabitants, agreeing, however, that the upright administration of justice and the maintenance of the ancient good orders is perpetually observed with great prudence and care.¹⁹

¹⁸ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 5, folios 493-8.

¹⁹ Ibid., “Fra quelle cose, che più importano al n'ro servitio, et alle gli Noi teniamo del continuo volto il pensiero, et applicato l'animo, è il buongoverno della nostra Città, et Porto di Livorno, acciò non solamente si conservi, tuttavia si vada accrescendola popolazione, et il commercio di Terra, et di Mare, mediante il continuo concorso de Vasselli, Mercantie, Mercanti, et Habitatori Stranieri, et convenendo però, che con somma prudenza, et accuratezza sia perpetuamente invigilata la retta amministrazione della Giustizia, et il mantenimento degli antichi buoni ordini.”

The subsequent points diagnosed Livorno's social and economic challenges and offered guidelines for how the Medici regime envisioned the ideal governance of the port. The instructions reveal the difficult and sometimes conflicting demands that were placed upon the governor as arbiter for a fledgling commercial port full of criminals, foreigners, and non-Catholics.²⁰

The document stressed the governor's centrality in managing all of Livorno's civil and military affairs, ranging from the arbitration of civil and criminal matters to the maintenance of public order and health.²¹ The regime advised the governor to be "most diligent" in monitoring the city's grain provisions, which were essential to preventing widespread famine. In addition, he was responsible for ensuring that local officials took all precautions necessary to keep the streets clean, eliminate unhealthy airs, and enforce proper quarantine procedures in the city's lazarettos of San Rocco and San Jacopo.²²

²⁰ With few exceptions, the men appointed to be Livorno's governors were selected from the noble class of Tuscans who previously served as local military captains or as Knights in the service of the Naval Order of St. Stephen. The powers, duties, and obligations of the governorship became more clearly defined over the course of the seventeenth century. Marcella Aglietti, *I governatori di Livorno dai Medici all'unità d'Italia: gli uomini, le istituzioni, la città* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2009).

²¹ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 5, folios 493-8, clause 2, "Et per l'amministrazione della buona Giustizia con determinazione sommaria, et con rimediare alle versazioni, lunghezze, defatigazioni, et delitti, camini meglio, oltre à gli altri soliti ufficiali, vi si darà anche un Giudice, il quale dovendo dipendere da Noi, vi starà à Nostro beneplacito." Merchants could appeal the Governor's decision to the Pisan tribunal of the *Consoli del Mare* in Pisa and the Florentine *Ruota* civil court. See Aglietti, *I governatori di Livorno*, 44 and 50; Paolo Castignoli, "Jacopo Inghirami Governatore di Livorno (1618-1621)," in Paolo Castignoli, Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, and Maria Lia Papi (eds), *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città: studi di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 2001), 41-47.

²² ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 5, folios 493-8, clauses 3, 21, and 4, "L'Abbondanza de Viveri, come il Pane, il Vino, et Grascie d'ogni sorte per sostentamento del popolo, et per dare ordine, che vi si moltiplichino vi devono essere à cuore sempre, con attendervi diligentissima.to ... Sarà di gran conseguenza, et notabilissimo beneficio, se il Mercate, che vi si fa per l'introduzione delle Grascie, venga favorito, et aiutato da voi." Non ha la Città di Livorno troppa pendenza, come sapete, rispetto al suo sito, et dovete però di continuo invigilare la pulitezza delle strade, procurano l'esito, et lo scolo delle immondite, et di tutto quello che può causare l'infezione d'aria."

Since Livorno was a maritime city frequented by soldiers and “wrongdoers,” it was the governor’s responsibility to monitor criminal activity and “punish offenders publically and privately without restraint.”²³ The governor was appointed as supervisor over Livorno’s charitable religious institutions, including the Hospital of St. Antonio, the Church of the Madonna, and the Greek United Church of the Holy Annunciation.²⁴ The detailed instructions concerning the Augustinian friars at the Church of St. John the Baptist underlines how violence was pervasive amongst Livorno’s early seventeenth century populace:

Remind the friars of St. John that their church and convent is assigned to them for the orations and sacrifices that render us favorable to God, and not for [granting] asylum, receiving murderers, or the spilling of human blood ... [which] disturbs the public peace and security of Livorno and sets a bad example for the foreign nations who are there.²⁵

Although the Grand Duchy aspired to make Livorno an international trade emporium, the port lacked native maritime expertise. Consequently, the governor was advised that among his “principal thoughts” should be the fostering of the naval arts by

²³ Ibid., clauses 5, 17, 18, and 24, “Si vuole ordinamenti in Livorno, dove stanno tanti soldati, et officiali, bene spesso sentire loro violenze, e torti alli Mercanti di Viveri, et à quelli che si portano Grasci, et però, è necessario, che vi mostrate rigoroso contro tali misfatti, et loro autori, castigandoli de facto, et in pubblico, et in privato, senza alcuna rimessione ... sogliono bene spesso in Livorno, come luogo di Mare, et Porto, capitarci diversi malfattori, et marioli, farete però tener sempre aperto l’occhio alla famiglia vostra, per haverli nelle mani, et castigarli ... habbiamo l’intento nostro della quiete, et sicurezza del vivere, et della moltiplicazione del popolo di Livorno.”

²⁴ Ibid., clause 6, “difendete lo li spedali del Santo Antonio et della Misericordia procurando, che in conformità degli obblighi vi si eserciti la Carità, et non se ne manchi, proteggete anche tutti gli altri luoghi pii di Livorno, la Compagnia di Santa Giulia, la Chiesa et Convento della Madonna, la Confraternita di San Cosimo, et di Santa Barbara, et la Chiesa et Nazione Greca.”

²⁵ Ibid., clause 7, “La Chiesa di Santo Giovanni, avvertendo quei frati, che la Chiese et Conventi sono assegnati loro per le orazioni, et sacrifici, che ci rendono Iddio propizio, et non per asilo, et ricetto di homicidiari, et spargitioni di sangue umano, et altri malfattori, et perturbazioni delle quiete pubblica, et sicurezza di Livorno, con dare male esempio alle Nazioni straniere, che vi sono.”

“introducing,” “persuading,” and “helping” young *Livornesi* men pursue nautical professions. At the same time he was instructed to recruit “a good number” of foreign sailors and ship owners while encouraging the work of local fishermen.²⁶ Since the galley slaves housed in Livorno’s *bagno* were of critical importance to the Tuscan navy, the governor was counseled to remain vigilant concerning their on-shore activities. The actions of Turkish slaves were of particular concern to the regime since they were permitted to exercise commerce in the port and had reportedly begun abusing this privilege.²⁷

The governor was given very specific directives concerning the regulation trade and promotion of mercantile activity in Livorno. While he was expected to treat foreign merchants with “love, courtesy, and diligence,” he was also encouraged to promote new industries that could serve to “nurture the population.”²⁸ The governor was expected to facilitate trade, but he was also liable for preventing internal corruption and tax fraud

²⁶ Ibid., clauses 12, 13, 14, 15, “Sapere chiaramente quanto importi havere a Livorno sudditi abitatori, et buon numero di Marinari, per servizio massime delle nostre Galere, però ci par superfluo il ricordarvi di proteggerli, e favorirgli, et invitarli all’abitarvi, perché siamo arti, che questi et principalmente i Bombardieri aiuterete sempre nelle occorrenze loro ... Deve però essere uno delle principali pensieri, et cure vostre, il procurare sempre che gli abitatori vadino introducendo alla medesima professione di navigare, i loro figli da giovanetti, persuadendogli, aiutandogli, et inducendogli ad applicarvi con tutti quei migliori modi, che sia possibile ... L’havere in Livorno quel maggior numero di Pescatori propri abitatori, fu sempre reputato tanto più espediente, quanto è, pregiudicialo per mancamento di essi habitatori il venirci degli altri di fuori, per, i danni notabili, et fiera, che ne seguono, et alli Mercanti et alle Dogana.”

²⁷ Ibid., clauses 22 and 23, “Circa li schiavi, Ciurme, et huomini di catena, ritenuti nel Bagno, vi sono tanti e tali ordini, che facendone invigliare l’osservanza, rimedierete à tutti gli’inconvenienti ... Avvertendone particolarmente, che se bene si permette alli schiavi essercitare Mercantie, alcuni di essi con questo pretesto fuor del Bagno tengono Magazzini ... però obbligo vostro, è di porci ogni opportuno rimedio.”

²⁸ Ibid., clause 16, “L’introdurvi arti nuovi leciti, è reputata cosa opportuna per sostentamento delle popolazioni, attenderete però à questa con tutta l’industria et particolarmente a quello, per mezzo delle quali si esercitano, ò volessero esercitarsi, come s’osserva in altri Parti, et anche in Livorno circa l’Arte delle Calzette, con non mediocre beneficio dei popoli.”

amongst the officials in the Customs house and mercantile court.²⁹ To encourage the impartiality of state-appointed officials, neither soldiers nor Livorno's ministers were permitted to engage in commerce; instead, they must be content with the revenues provided by their government stipends. Among the most critical commercial duties performed by Livorno's governor was his role in safeguarding the property and well being of foreign merchants by protecting their elected consuls:

As a free port, merchants come here from all parts of the Levant, the western Mediterranean [Ponentine], Barbary, and other parts of the world, and therefore here they have someone of these nations as their consul, and they must be protected.³⁰

Between the demands of local governance and the multifaceted responsibilities of international commerce, Livorno's elected governor was confronted with complex challenges on a daily basis. Moreover, each of the aforementioned duties was complicated further by an additional task, which the list of Grand Ducal instructions prioritized above all others. While the governor was instructed to recruit and protect foreigners in the free port of Livorno he was nonetheless expected to enforce religious orthodoxy and support Catholic evangelism in the port:

Firstly, because foreign peoples from various parts come here as a free port to trade, we recommend you to be vigilant that no one introduces a sect contrary to our holy Catholic religion, but rather it is to be hoped that the

²⁹ Ibid., clauses 8 and 11, "Si come siate superiore alli Ministri delle Dogana nostre, cosi conviene, che abbiate in protezione le Gabelli, et Rendite nostre pubbliche, non tollerando, ne permettendo, che si fraudino in modo alcuno ... Avvertendo ancora di provvedere, che non vi s'introduchino pregiudiziali abusi à danno delli Mercanti, et Mercantie, che non si ci mandano, et vengono, ma che li trattino con amorevolezza, cortesia, et diligenza."

³⁰ Ibid., clause 10, "Come a Porto libero, et franco, vi vengono mercantie di tutto il levante, Ponente, Barberia, et altre parti del mondo, et perciò avendoci alcuno di queste Nazioni, i loro Consoli, è dovere che li proteggiate."

opportunity [of their presence] might serve to bring them back in the bosom of the Holy Church and in the true religion.³¹

The unresolved tension between the demands of commerce and the ideals of the “true religion” remained a defining feature throughout Livorno’s seventeenth century social and urban development.

Dissimulation as State Policy: the Art of “keeping one’s eyes closed”

Ever since Grand Duke Ferdinando publically issued the first *Livornina* in 1591, the Medici regime demonstrated its willingness to push the limits regarding what forms of *tolerantia* could be accepted by the papacy. Indeed, the Grand Duke had not sought approval from the Holy See before issuing the settlement decree. Instead, the 1591 version simply included a clause specifying that certain privileges were contingent upon papal non-interference.³² Duke Ferdinando’s independent action had prompted consternation amongst Tuscany’s Catholic allies, particularly within the court of Spain, which sought to foment papal grievances to benefit Spanish intrigues.³³ However, when

³¹ Ibid., clause 1, “In prima vi ricordiamo di avvertire, che con l’occasione della gente straniera che da diverse parti come à porto franco vi comparisce, et iv pratica con mercantie, non vi s’introduca qualche setta in dispregio della nostra santa religione cattolica, ma che più tosto serva questa comodità per ridurre nel grembo di Santa Chiesa et alla vera Religione, come pure vi è spesso intervenuto et interviene, quelli che sendone alieni vi capitano.” Quoted by Villani, “Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration,” 97-98.

³² See chapter three for discussion of the Medici regime’s relationship with the papacy and how this affected their willingness to offer asylum to Portuguese New Christians.

³³ In 1600, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Antonio Fernández de Córdoba (Duke of Sessa), sought papal support for a Spanish plan to take over control of Tuscany. To this end, he wrote a letter to the Holy See that accused the Grand Duke of welcoming, “Jews who were fleeing Portugal and the other kingdoms of Spain; and knowing that they are all baptized he receives them in Pisa and lets them publicly practice Judaism with little respect for God and Your Majesty.” “los judios que se huyen de Portugal y de otros Reynos de Espana que sabiendo que todos son baptizados con poco respecto de Dios e de V.M.d los acoje en Pisa y le dexa publicamente judaizar.” Spanish text quoted by Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori del ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2008), 53.

rumors initially reached the Pope that the Tuscan Duchy knowingly harbored apostacized Jews who mingled with Iberian New Christians in Pisa and Livorno, Duke Ferdinando flatly denied these allegations.³⁴ Pope Clement VIII remained unconvinced and in 1602 reprimanded the Grand Duke for protecting judaizers, an action akin to “making himself a supporter of heretics.”³⁵ Although Medici sympathizers such as the Secretary of the Papal legate, Camillo Guidi, tried to reassure the Pope that the Grand Duke was on his “most vigilant guard,” the Tuscan regime was not impervious to the mounting diplomatic pressure.³⁶

Although the Grand Duke was unwilling to retract the *Livornine* privileges and thereby compromise the future of the new port, he did agree to temper the regime’s approach to promoting the decree. While it was impossible to destroy copies of the *Livornine* that were already in circulation, in 1604 the Grand Duke ordered that the more controversial privileges, namely those reserved for the Jewish *nazione*, would remain secret. The central Florentine chancellery was prohibited from allowing “neither a copy nor a glimpse” of the Jewish privileges to be seen by anyone without the express

³⁴ In a letter to the pope from October 1595, Duke Ferdinando expressed distain for intermixing between New Christians and the Sephardic Jews, “we abhor hearing that [New] Christians are coming to Pisa and surrounding themselves with Jews, which is something we have always severely prohibited.” “quanto da noi sia aborrito il sentire che venissero Cristiani a Pisa a circondarsi da ebrei e con quale severità habbiamo ciò sempre proibito.” ASF, Auditore dei beni ecclesiastici, poi Segretario del Regio Diritto, 36, f. 2. Cited by Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 52 and 211.

³⁵ ASF, MP, 3318, Copialettere di Giovanni Niccolini, resident ambassador in Rome, “come farsi fautore di heretici.” Cited by Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 52.

³⁶ The papal secretary claimed that the Grand Duke was only allowing the immigration of Levantine Jews who had already been registered as Jews in Venice or Ferrara. ASF, Carte Guidi, 115, ins. 147. Cited by Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 53 and 212.

permission of the Duke.³⁷ While a copy of the *Livornine* remained in the possession of the Jewish *massari*, they threatened to excommunicate any member of the Jewish nation who distributed copies of the privileges. The Pope seemed sufficiently satisfied with the Grand Duke's actions, and from this point forward the Medici regime adopted dissimulation as the *de facto* state policy for governing Livorno.³⁸

Internal correspondence between Florence and Livorno's seventeenth century regime officials is peppered with Italian phraseology describing how administrators must remain cautious and 'keep an eye out for' unsanctioned behaviors. For example, clause 17 of the aforementioned instructions for Livorno's governor warned that he must keep an "eye open" to make sure members of his own family did not break any laws.³⁹ Similar expressions were used in the context of guarding slaves in Livorno's *bagno*, such as one 1604 report which cautioned officials to "open their eyes" regarding a wealthy captive who was considered a flight risk.⁴⁰ While expressions linking vision and vigilance are unsurprising, it is interesting to note the frequency with which Livorno's officials describe the need or desirability to keeping their eyes shut regarding behaviors that the

³⁷ The phrase "non darne né copia né vista" is written in the margins of the Grand Duchy's official book of registered privileges next to the *Livornine*. ASF, MP, Pratica Segreta di Firenze, 189, f. 116. Cited by Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 53.

³⁸ Despite the underhanded nature of Grand Duke's official policy of dissimulation, in October 1604 the problem of aposticized *marranos* became moot because the Pope issued the *Breve per conto delle Marrani di Portogallo*, which was a blanket pardon for all Portuguese *marranos*. The impetus for this pardon likely came from the King of Spain who had been from losing money due to the mass migrations. Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 54.

³⁹ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 1, f. 497, "farete però tener sempre aperto l'occhio alla famiglia vostra, per haverli nelle mani, et gastigarli."

⁴⁰ ASF, MP, 1829, f. 288, "Umetto, di Machometto ... d'anni 60 in circa giusta statura ed eretto... ricchissimo ... aprasigli occhi che non gabbino purché ha molti ebrei amici."

regime preferred not to acknowledge. For example, a late sixteenth century dispatch advised Livorno's officials to ensure that bakers in the port used the proper weights and measures when dealing with the impoverished local customers. However, the same letter suggested that if bakers were selling their products to foreign ships the regime officials might choose to "close their eyes."⁴¹

The tactic of willful blindness applied to the regime's treatment of unsanctioned behaviors amongst Livorno's religious minorities. For example, although the fear of sexual relations between Jews and Christians in Livorno led the regime to officially prohibit Jews from keeping Christian servants, in 1664 the governor of Livorno described how officials could close their eyes in order to bridge the distance separating *de jure* and *de facto* practices, "regarding the Christian servants who are kept by the Jews, when it concerns girls of a young age [we] have always closed our eyes."⁴² Much like the secret *Livornine* privileges that continued to exist but could not be seen, the transgressions of non-Catholic minorities were tolerated in Livorno as long as they did not provoke a scandal that attracted attention to the port. Although Medici regime officials, the papacy, and Livorno's residents were all complicit in this game, the rules of visibility were different for each religious and national group.

⁴¹ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 1, f. 14. The undated letter follows a correspondence series from 1594, "Son soliti li fornai di Livorno non osservar peso il che è non gran danno de poveri abitatori, et pero questo a chi lo faccia osservare che faccino il suo dovere à perizi, ma quando verranno galere o nave forestieri che ne vogliono con loro si può chiuder li occhi."

⁴² ASF, Archivio Serristori, 435, unpagged, dated June 21, 1664, "quanto alle serve cristiane che tengono gli ebrei, mentre non si tratti di ragazze di poca età, sempre si son chiusi gli occhi." Quoted Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 240.

Nazioni, Consuls, and Citizenship

All foreign merchants who immigrated to Livorno were encouraged to organize into corporate bodies, or *nazioni*, led by delegated consuls. To offset the risks of migrating to an underdeveloped Catholic port, the *Livornine* had granted members of the Jewish *nazione* the most wide-ranging privileges, including eligibility for Tuscan citizenship and recognition for the community's *massari* leadership.⁴³ In contrast, Livorno's other foreign mercantile nations had to petition the Grand Duke to confirm their consular representation with letters patent.⁴⁴ In the late sixteenth century the French, Flemish, English and Genoese *nazioni* emerged with recognized consuls. These were followed in the seventeenth century by the Dutch, Portuguese, Swedish, and Armenian *nazioni*.

The consuls of each *nazione* were chosen by the consensus of prominent merchants, ship captains, and other members in the community, and the choice was subject to the approval of the Grand Duke. While the position came with pecuniary rewards, the duties and obligations of the job were initially flexible and ill defined.⁴⁵ Unlike the *massari*, Livorno's foreign consuls were not granted autonomous jurisdiction and in the early seventeenth century approval from their home country was not

⁴³ See chapter three for a discussion of Jewish citizenship in Livorno.

⁴⁴ Giangiamoco Panessa, *Nazioni e consolati in Livorno: 400 Anni di Storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 1998); Guillaume Calafat, "L'Institution de la coexistence Les communautés et leurs droits à Livourne (1590-1630)," in David Paço, Mathilde Monges, and Laurent Tatarenko (eds), *Des religions dans la ville: ressorts et stratégies de coexistence dans l'Europe des XVIème-XVIIème siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 83-102; Paolo Castignoli, "Le prime patenti consolari a Livorno," *Livorno dagli archivi*, 68-91.

⁴⁵ Marie-Christine Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs: the "Flemish" Community in Livorno and Genoa (1615-1635)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), 127.

required.⁴⁶ Consequently, a consul's efficacy was relative to their standing with the Medici regime and their personal reputation amongst the members of their *nazione*. They were expected to serve as translators and advocates for merchants and captains navigating the bureaucratic and legal system of the Grand Duchy. They had the duty to uphold the good credit and reputation of their *nazione* and to encourage favourable treatment by the regime by seeking special privileges from the Grand Duke. As Livorno matured, foreign consuls increasingly took on diplomatic functions and were answerable to the leaders of their home countries. While the leaders of warring nations lobbied aggressively for preferential treatment from the Tuscan duchy, Livorno maintained its military neutrality by repeatedly brokering non-aggression agreements between the *nazioni*'s resident consuls.⁴⁷

Although the port of Livorno remained militarily neutral, the Medici regime nonetheless displayed clear favoritism towards foreigners willing to outwardly conform to Catholicism. Consequently, Catholic dissimulation was an expedient solution for numerous immigrants to Livorno. All non-Jewish foreigners who hoped to acquire Tuscan citizenship were required, at least outwardly, to adhere to the Catholic faith. Whether genuine or superficial, the veneer of Catholic orthodoxy allowed numerous foreign individuals to achieve prominence in Livorno. When Livorno's municipal governing body (*Cento Cittadini*) was first established in 1604, those deemed eligible for

⁴⁶ Ibid., 125-8.

⁴⁷ Marcella Aglietti, "The Consular Institution between War and Commerce, State and Nation: Comparative Examples in Eighteenth-century Europe," in A. Alimento (ed.), *War, Trade, and Neutrality: Europe and the Mediterranean in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century* (Milano: FrancoAngeli, 2011), 41-54.

citizenship included the English consul Thomas Hunt, the former German-Dutch consul Matteo Bonade, two Greeks and an Irishman. By 1616, a Portuguese New Christian and a Dutchman were named citizens, and in 1665 the prominent Armenian Antonio Bogos was included.⁴⁸

Neighbors and Landlords: Residential Settlement in Livorno

With nearly all of Livorno's property controlled by the state, the *Livornine* empowered immigrants to buy property and encouraged religious minorities to seek permission to establish religious centers. Consequently, Livorno's urban topography diverged sharply from that of established cities like Venice or Rome, where foreigners and non-Catholics were segregated from one another or relegated to marginal spaces. During the early phases of Livorno's development few private individuals were willing to make the risky financial investment necessary to develop property within the new city. Consequently, in the decades immediately following the *Livornine*, the state-run Fabbrica office financed and managed all residential and commercial construction in the port. Medici architects including Claudio Cogorano, Antonio Cantagallina and Alessandro Pieroni supplied building designs and the subsequent sale and leasing of property was supervised by Livorno's Customs house (*Dogana*). In 1608, the regime began sharing the burden of construction expenses with investors from the charitable and religious organizations of the Ceppi di Prato and the Knights of St. Stephen.⁴⁹ While the Order of

⁴⁸ Panessa, *Nazioni e consolati in Livorno*.

⁴⁹ On Livorno's early development and the investments made by the Ceppi di Prato and the Order of St. Stephen, see Dario Matteoni, *Livorno: la città nella storia dell'Italia* (Livorno: Belforte Editore, 1985), 53-55; Donata Battilotti, "Luoghi di commercio e produzione degli stranieri negli primi anni d'espansione Livornese (1587-1609)," in *Città e Storia* (Roma: Roma Tre, 2007), 45-60; E. Codini Karvacka, "Il progetto dell'isolato dei Cavalieri di S. Stefano nella Livorno Medicea. Un contributo sulle 'case a schiera',"

St. Stephen financed construction of several residential building blocks, by the 1620s the Ceppi di Prato had become the most significant developer in Livorno by financing the construction of residential and warehouse spaces. By the 1640s, Livorno's urban development had become increasingly market-driven and financed by individual investors.⁵⁰

Due to the loss of the majority of Livorno's *Dogana* records, the details of property ownership remain vague for the first half of the seventeenth century.⁵¹ After 1646, however, it is possible to ascertain a clearer picture of Livorno's residential and commercial development due to the extant tax records of the *decima*.⁵² Although Livorno was initially exempted from the *decima* property tax that was routinely implemented elsewhere in the duchy, by 1646 the financial strains caused by the War of Castro led the Medici regime to introduce an 8% tax on all rooms in Livorno that were not directly in use by the owner of the real estate.⁵³ The proprietor's tax payment was calculated

Bollettino Storico Pisano LIII (1984): 235-41; M.L. Conforto, "Le tipologie edilizie della città nuova," in *Livorno e Pisa: due città e un territorio nella politica dei Medici: Livorno, progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 155-172; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Case e proprietari a Livorno nel Seicento," *Quaderni Storici*, 113, XXXVIII, no. 2 (2003): 363-80; M. Conforto and L. Frattarelli Fischer, "Dalla Livorno dei Granduchi alla Livorno dei mercanti città e proprietà immobiliare fra '500 e '600," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* LIII (1984): 211-234.

⁵⁰ However, Frattarelli Fisher notes that property development in the 1640s still showed clear signs of state sponsorship. For Livorno's seventeenth and eighteenth century residential property development, see Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and M.L. Conforto, "Il prospetto delle case di Livorno alla metà del Settecento," *Storia Urbana* 21 (1982): 31-62.

⁵¹ The *catasto* and *estimo* land assessment records offer insight into the general trends governing Livorno's property ownership.

⁵² For Livorno's first *decima* assessment in 1646, see ASL, Decima, 200-2.

⁵³ The proprietor was taxed 8% on their residual estate after subtracting their lease payment and the *livello* payments of renters from the property value. Renters submitted written confirmation that the rental price accorded with the amount declared by the owner. Although the apartments and rooms directly in use by

according to several factors that included an assessment of their lease payments, a survey of the rooms that they claimed for personal use, and a survey of the rooms that they rented to non-family members.⁵⁴ As a result of the formula used to calculate this tax, the *decima* offers a trove of information about Livorno's residential settlement, including the size and location of diverse properties, the names, provenance, and profession of property owners (the household heads), and the names and rental prices of occupants who rented rooms within a given estate. Using the records from the *decima* it is possible to determine the general trends that governed Livorno's neighborhood development.

The 1591/93 *Livornine* privileges had removed all legal barriers to property ownership in Livorno irrespective of religious or national affiliation. Since housing in seventeenth century Livorno was scarce due to the city's steady demographic growth, property owners frequently repartitioned existing spaces in order to rent or sublease rooms for profit.⁵⁵ Consequently, foreign Christians, Jews, and local *Livornesi* all counted among the property owners who legally rented and leased property to one another. Apart from a few notable exceptions discussed below, the regime did not

owners were exempt, their shops and workshops (*magazzini* and *botteghe*) were subject to the tax. Frattarelli Fischer, "Case e proprietari a Livorno nel Seicento," 363.

⁵⁴ The diverse social relationships that existed between proprietors and renters are not readily apparent from the *decima* records. While a systematic statistical analysis of landowners and renters has not yet been pursued, it is clear that property owners in Livorno included a multinational subset of individuals. In general, property owners were just as likely to rent rooms to their co-nationals as they were to rent to foreigners in the port. Frattarelli Fischer has observed a more recognizable trend amongst ship captains who frequently rented to one another. *Ibid.*, 373.

⁵⁵ The *estima* records do not, however, include information about the practice of subleasing apartments for short periods of time, which was a common practice in Livorno. Frattarelli Fischer notes that information about subleases is sometimes visible in the *post mortem* inventories of deceased foreigners in Livorno and in the civil and criminal records that were produced as a result of illegal or problematic subleases. *Ibid.*, 372.

establish any legal restrictions governing residential or commercial settlement in Livorno. Nevertheless, *decima* records illustrate the tendency for middling and lower classes immigrants to settle in neighborhoods that clustered around the immediate vicinity of their legally recognized religious centers. For example, Greek sailors and artisans tended to occupy modest homes on *Via Greca* Street, which housed the Greek United Church of the Holy Annunciation. Livorno's residential construction followed a predictable set of building forms that conformed to the regularized facades of the planned orthogonal city. With the exception of authorized church facades, all specific ethnic or national markers were relegated to the decoration of interior spaces.

Upon receiving a loan from the Tuscan Duchy, the Sephardic Jewish *nazione* built a new synagogue on a street located behind Livorno's Duomo. After the building's completion in 1607, the synagogue and adjoining rooms served as a central node for the Jewish community.⁵⁶ As a result, Jews of more modest means tended to cluster in the nearby streets, particularly on the *Via degli Ebrei*, which was later called the *Via della Sinagoga*, *Via della Scuola*, or as it remains today, the *Via del Tempio*.⁵⁷ The various toponyms used to describe this neighborhood clearly identified it as the *de facto* Jewish quarter, although the Medici regime resisted papal and private initiatives to establish a spatially segregated Jewish *ghetto* in Livorno.⁵⁸ However, Christians were discouraged

⁵⁶ On Livorno's Jewish synagogue see Michele Luzzati (ed.), *Le tre sinagoghe: edifici di culto e vita ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento* (Livorno: Umberto Allemandi, 1995); Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 108-111 and 145-150.

⁵⁷ For the changes to Livorno's street names over time, see Aldo Lucchese, *Stradario storico della città e del Comune di Livorno* (Livorno: Belforte Grafica, 1973).

⁵⁸ On Livorno's Jewish residential settlement, see Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 185-206; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Proprietà e insediamento ebraici a Livorno dalla fine del Cinquecento alla seconda

from living in Livorno's Jewish neighborhood, and by 1620 the laws prohibiting Jewish and Christian cohabitation were made explicit. Legislation issued by Duke Cosimo II sought to curb the "sinister interpretation of the privileges issued in 1591/93" by outlawing the cohabitation of Jews and Christians. This law not only forbade Christians and Jews from occupying rooms within a single apartment, but it also expanded the legal definition of cohabitation to proscribe the mixed usage of a common entrance or staircase.⁵⁹ In practice, however, these rules were rarely enforced and working class Christians occasionally rented rooms in the Jewish neighborhood. Moreover, the *Livornine* privileges facilitated Jewish participation in Livorno's elite transnational mercantile class. Jews had the ability to rent and own property, and property-owning members of the Jewish nation could then be granted full citizenship rights. Jews of more prominent means owned and inhabited property in Livorno's more prestigious and religiously mixed neighborhoods. These included the prominent commercial boulevard called the *Via Ferdinanda* and the late seventeenth century merchant-oriented development in the *Venezia Nuova* neighborhood.⁶⁰

metà del Settecento," *Quaderni Storici* 54, no. XVIII (1983): 879-96; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Tipologia abitava degli ebrei a Livorno nel Seicento," *Rassegna Mensile di Israel*, L (1984): 583-605.

⁵⁹ "Continuando S.A. nella buona, et santa mente de sua Ser.mi Predecessori, et che da gli Hebrei che habitano familiarmente nella sua Città di Pisa, Porto et scalo di Livorno non sieno malamente usati, o, sinistramente interpretati i privilegi concessi loro in diversi tempi ... l'anno 1591-1593, o, in altri più veri tempi per multiplicare gli habitatori, et augmentare il traffico a beneficio universale come si osserva nella città di Roma, Bologna, Ancona, et in altri luoghi ordina al Comm.rio di Pisa, et Gov.re di Livorno, et in ciascuna di essi, et à chi s'aspetti in conformità de buoni ordini, che non permettino, et consentino in modo alcuno ne sotto qualsivoglia pretesto, o quesito colore, che gli hebrei in alcuni di detti luoghi cohabitano nelle medesime case con i christiani, intendono cohabitare quando entrassino per la medesima porta, et si servissino delle medesime scale, ancorché le stanze, o appartamenti fussino distinti, et separati." Dated July 26, 1620, from Palazzo Pitti in Florence. ASF, Auditore Riformagioni, 32, f. 421.

⁶⁰ After the Medici regime rejected a 1629 proposal to transform Livorno's *Venezia Nuova* site into a Jewish ghetto, the area was left undeveloped until the 1680s when private investors transformed it into a

In the 1725 manuscript of the German painter and temporary resident of Livorno, Georg Christoph Martini, the Tuscan Grand Duke was anecdotally quoted as having said, “if you go to Livorno never ask anyone who their grandfather was.” Martini’s text then explained, “the nobility of the *Livornesi* does not generally extend beyond the father ... it is therefore the merchants who make a grand display and constitute the *Livornese* nobility, and they are esteemed by the others all the same.”⁶¹ Livorno’s most prominent merchants settled along the religiously mixed commercial boulevard, the *Via Ferdinanda*, which transected the city from the portside gate, the *Porta Colonella*, across the central piazza to the inland gate, the *Porta da Pisa*.⁶² The well-traversed thoroughfare fed into Livorno’s enormous central piazza known alternatively as *Piazza d’Arme* or *Piazza Grande*, which was the focal point for religious, social, and economic life in the port.

[Fig. 4.3] At one end of the rectangular expanse stood Livorno’s Duomo with a portico façade designed by Alessandro Pieroni. **[Fig. 4.4]** The buildings surrounding the piazza’s perimeter featured a continuous columnar arcade that allowed merchants and artisans to

mercantile neighborhood with a canal system for the easy transportation of goods. Frattarelli Fischer, “Case e proprietari a Livorno nel Seicento”; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Riccardo Saller, *The Venezia Nuova: Baroque Quarter of Livorno* (Livorno: Debatte, 2007).

⁶¹ “Il Granduca ... disse ad un forestiero che doveva recarsi a Livorno: ‘Se andrete a Livorno, non domandate mai ad alcuno chi sia stato suo nonno.’ Intendeva dire che la nobiltà dei livornesi non si estendeva in genere oltre il padre, e conveniva evitare di chiedere ad una persona chi fosse suo nonno: a Livorno infatti, prima della costruzione del porto, vivevano solo dei pescatori. Sono dunque i commercianti che fanno grande sfoggio e costituiscono la nobiltà livornese, che del resto è ugualmente stimata.” Martini’s German manuscript is in the Archivio di Stato di Lucca. Italian translation available as Georg Christoph Martini, *Viaggio in Toscana (1725-1745)*, edited and translated by O. Trumpy (Modena: Aedes Muratoriana, 1969), 45.

⁶² For an assessment of the prominent Flemish merchants and ship captains who owned or rented property on the *Via Ferdinanda* see Engels, *Merchants, Interlopers, Seamen and Corsairs*, 148-151.

display their wares while brokers of all nationalities met to negotiate trade in a manner which Georg Martini described as akin to a stock exchange.⁶³

While the *Livornine* privileges helped foster a transnational mercantile elite, they did not nullify the defensive strategies that were necessary for many religious minorities. Although Livorno never hosted an office for the Holy Roman Inquisition, inquisitors were nonetheless positioned threateningly close in nearby Pisa. The Holy Office expected Medici regime officials to monitor religious orthodoxy amongst Livorno's Catholic population.⁶⁴ The papacy was especially concerned with how Livorno's liberal policies and urban integration facilitated unsanctioned carnal relations between Christians, Jews, and Muslims slaves.⁶⁵ Although the Archbishop of Pisa and the Pisan inquisitors were in Livorno on a regular basis, these pastoral visits were typically announced ahead of time. This allowed regime officials sufficient time to stage these visits and avoid scandal.

⁶³ "Il mio più grande divertimento era quello di recarmi in Piazza Grande a veder passeggiare uomini di varie nazionalità: persiani, armeni, arabi, quelli dei monti del Libano, ed una quantità di levantini della Barberia e di altre parti dell'Africa. I mercanti hanno il loro punto di ritrovo al termine della Via Grande, dove i portici consentono di stare al coperto in caso di cattivo tempo, e qui discutono i loro affari. Questo si dice 'frequentare la piazza,' ed è quasi come frequentare una Borsa." Martini, *Viaggio in Toscana (1725-1745)*, 59.

⁶⁴ Many suspected English Protestants were prosecuted by the Pisan Inquisition, see Barbara Donati, *Tra Inquisizione e Granducato: storie di Inglesi nella Livorno del primo Seicento* (Roma: Storia e Letteratura, 2010).

⁶⁵ A letter written by the Holy Office to the Florentine nuncio in the late seventeenth-century listed the perceived "abuses" of Livorno's Jews, which they considered a threat to the spiritual health of Christians. The Holy Office's list of objections included the fact that Livorno's Jews did not wear a sign and that they often kept Christian servants and wet nurses in their houses. The Holy Office was especially concerned with the "scandal" and "perversion" that arose between Jews and Christians of opposite sexes, who were known to socialize in Livorno and participate jointly in Jewish social events. The Holy Office argued that urban integration augmented such 'confusion.' The Holy Office also objected to the practice among Livorno's Jews of including epitaphs on their burial markers. Finally, the Holy Office objected to the practice of Jewish doctors serving Christian patients. For full Italian transcription, see "Minuta di istruzione per Monsignor Nunzio di Firenze circa gli abusi degli Ebrei," cited in Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 236-240.

Likewise, when the Medici regime was asked to turn over accused judaizers, Livorno's officials passively facilitated the timely escape of the accused individuals.⁶⁶

However, as syncretic forms of pluralistic sociality emerged, anxious bureaucrats worked to refine the terms of legal social interaction to deter illicit mixing between religious groups. The regime used vice legislation to prohibit Christian prostitutes from servicing Jewish residents or Muslim slaves. Likewise, they outlawed Jews from legally employing Christian wet-nurses. Livorno's urban integration made certain forms of pluralistic sociality virtually inevitable at the marketplace and in certain entertainment venues. Nonetheless, during the reign of the religious zealot Duke Cosimo III (1670-1723), the regime introduced some of the most restrictive forms of interfaith social legislation.⁶⁷ The regime officially prohibited Jews from employing Christian workers and banned Christians from entering Jewish homes.⁶⁸ The regime reiterated the law forbidding carnal relations between Christian and Jews and increased the severity of the punishment ordained for Christian prostitutes who serviced Jewish clients.⁶⁹ Although the enforcement of these restrictions was typically lax and the social and economic lives of

⁶⁶ Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno nel Sei e Settecento tra Inquisizioni e garanzie granducali," in Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Le Inquisizioni cristiane e gli ebrei: atti dei convegni Lincei 191* (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 2001), 253-295.

⁶⁷ For a historiographical assessment of Cosimo III's religious fervor and bigotry, see Marcello Fantoni, "Il bigottismo di Cosimo III da leggenda storiografica ad oggetto storico," in Franco Angiolini, Vieri Becagli, and Marcello Vega (eds), *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III: atti del convegno* (Firenze: Edifir, 1993), 229-248.

⁶⁸ Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 54-55 and 236-240.

⁶⁹ Duke Cosimo III explicitly outlawed carnal relations between Christian prostitutes and Jewish clients in 1677 and 1680. On May 26, 1698 the Grand Duke increased the severity of punishment for vice crimes by ordering that guilty Jewish men would be ordered to pay a fine and guilty prostitutes would be subject to public whipping or exile. See Lorenzo Cantini (ed.), *Legislazione Toscana (1532-1775): raccolta e illustrate*, Vol. 21 (Firenze: Albizzini, 1802), 43.

Livorno's mercantile elite were largely unregulated, the rules governing non-Catholic forms of religious expression required an even greater amount of dissimulation.

Fictions of Unity: Greeks and Armenians

In 1600, Grand Duke Ferdinando offered Livorno's Greek community a parcel of land and a loan of over 2,000 *scudi* to construct the Greek United Church of the Holy Annunciation near the centre of Livorno's new town.⁷⁰ [Fig. 4.5] The Byzantine-rite Catholic Church was the culmination of the Medici regime's sustained effort to recruit Greek sailors and artisans to the port.⁷¹ Pope Clement VIII had approved the construction because, according to the 1438-9 agreement of the Ecumenical Council of Florence, all Greek churches in Italy were required to recognize the supreme authority of the pope and be in communion with the Catholic Church. In practice, however, Livorno's Catholic Greek residents struggled to share the church altar with Melkite Armenians, schismatic Greek Orthodox, and schismatic Armenians.⁷² Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the linguistic, cultural, and theological divisions amongst Livorno's

⁷⁰ Francesca Funis, "Gli insediamenti dei Greci a Livorno tra Cinquecento e Seicento," *Città et Storia*, Vol. II (2007): 61-75; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Alle radici di una identità composita. La 'nazione' greca a Livorno," in Gaetano Passarelli (ed.), *Le iconostasi di Livorno, patrimonio post-Bizantino* (Pisa: Pacini, 2001), 49-61; Giangiacomo Panessa, *Le comunità greche a Livorno: tra integrazione e chiusura nazionale* (Livorno: Belforte, 1991); Paolo Castignoli, "La comunità Livornese dei Greci non uniti," *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 109-115; Doriana Popova dell' Agata, "La nazione e la chiesa dei Greci Uniti," in *Livorno: progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi & Pacini, 1980), 251-262.

⁷¹ See chapter three for discussion of the Medici regime's Greek recruitment tactics from 1570-1600.

⁷² A few Ottoman Armenians may have frequented Livorno's United Greek Church before the 1714 construction of the Armenian Church of St. Gregory. However, Frattarelli Fischer notes that Persian Armenians preferred the multinational Church of the Madonna. Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "'Pro Armenis Unitis cum conditionibus.' La Construzione della chiesa degli Armeni a Livorno: un inter lungo e accidentato," in Giangiacomo Panessa and M. Sanacuore (eds), *Gli Armeni a Livorno. L'intercultura di una diaspora* (Livorno: Archivio di stato di Livorno, 2006), 31.

“Greek” populations became the source of increasing concern amongst papal inquisitors and regime officials alike.

Apart from a few unfortunate Greek and Armenian schismatics who were periodically enslaved in the *bagno*, the Medici regime preferred to maintain the fiction of Livorno’s Greek Catholic homogeneity.⁷³ Community-wide dissimulation facilitated intermarriage between Greeks, Armenians, and local *Livornesi*, and it was an expedient means to keep Pisan inquisitors at bay. Nevertheless, the port’s Greek community frequently aroused the suspicions of the Holy Office and inquisitorial investigations in 1623-4, 1653, and 1662 uncovered numerous individual and collective heresies within the Greek Church of the Holy Annunciation.⁷⁴ When Livorno’s Greek Confraternity was founded in 1653, the Church of the Holy Annunciation was put under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Pisa. Despite increased ecclesiastical oversight, heterodox beliefs and practices proliferated. Inquisitors and secular authorities reported doctrinal and liturgical irregularities within the congregation, such as their problematic understanding of the Holy Trinity and their lack of regard for clerical celibacy.⁷⁵ Inquisitors’ reports noted with curiosity the Church’s Byzantine-rite iconostasis but remained suspicious of its lack of interior sculpture, which suggested the community’s adherence to the Orthodox proscription of idolatrous three-dimensional images. Although errant Greek priests were

⁷³ See chapter five for discussion of heretical and schismatic Christians in Livorno’s slave *bagno*.

⁷⁴ Frattarelli Fischer, “Alle radici di una identità composita,” 54-55.

⁷⁵ In May 1681, the Grand Duke was informed of the Medici regime’s secular investigation into the scandalous behavior of a Greek priest in Livorno who reportedly frequented prostitutes and flagrantly kept concubines. ASF, MP, 2099, f. 165.

reprimanded and removed from office, the obstructionism of Livorno's secular officials largely prevented inquisitors from scrutinizing the Greek community too closely, even though, as one inquisitor's report concluded in 1699, members of Livorno's Greek Church were considered "barely Catholics."⁷⁶

However, internal divisions amongst the Church's constituents caused increasing controversy over the course of the seventeenth century as an internal struggle ensued between Livorno's Byzantine-rite and Melkite Catholic Greeks, Catholic Armenians, and schismatic Greek and Armenian minorities. Mounting tension was fueled by liturgical and doctrinal differences, and these contrasts were further exacerbated by the social, cultural, and linguistic differences that separated the diverse groups. As discussed in chapter three, the majority of Livorno's Greek immigrants were Ottoman or Venetian subjects who were recruited by the Medici regime since the 1570s to work as sailors and skilled artisans. In contrast, Livorno's numerically smaller Armenian community was comprised primarily of silk traders, some of whom were subjects of the Ottoman Sultan while others were subjects of the King of Safavid Persia.

Given the growing importance of the silk trade to Tuscan manufacturing interests, it is not surprising that both "*Persiani*" and "*Armeni*" were included in the list of nationalities invited in the preamble to the 1591/93 *Livornine*.⁷⁷ What was problematic, however, was the Medici regime's desire to treat the Armenian *nazione* as a unified

⁷⁶ The 1699 report described the practices of the Greek Church as "poco Cattolico." Frattarelli Fischer, "Alle radici di una identità composita," 55.

⁷⁷ See chapter three for discussion of Tuscany's textile trade. After the Safavid Persians relocated Armenians traders into the silk lands, Armenian merchants controlled the caravan routes and became prominent in the international silk trade. Armenians were also listed in Duke Cosimo I's 1551 settlement invitation.

corporate body despite their divergent religious and national interests.⁷⁸ Although most Ottoman Armenians were considered to be in union with the Catholic Church by way of the Armenian patriarch of Constantinople, many Persian and Georgian Armenians were Monophysites who recognized the supreme authority of the Armenian patriarch and were considered heretics by the Holy See. As Livorno's Armenian community grew over the seventeenth century, the incompatibility of these groups became increasingly apparent.⁷⁹

Armenian silk merchants assumed increasing prominence in Livorno's Levantine trade, and in 1624 a group of fifteen merchants jointly appealed to the Grand Duke for permission to elect a recognized Armenian consul (this request was granted in 1626). Armenian missionaries also frequented Livorno's port and regime officials called upon their polyglot linguistic skills to help them communicate with Armenian, Turkish, or even Arabic-speaking visitors and slaves in the port.⁸⁰ By 1644, Armenian-language religious

⁷⁸ In this sense, the Medici regime's treatment of Livorno's "Greek" and "Armenian" *nazioni* was reminiscent of the Venetian Republic's misguided efforts to force all "Turkish" peoples into the collective residential segregation of the *fondaco dei Turchi*. As discussed in chapter two, the Baltic, Persian, Turkish and other Ottoman merchants in Venice resisted these efforts in 1621.

⁷⁹ Paolo Castignoli, "Gli Armeni a Livorno nel Seicento: notizie sul loro primo insediamento," *Livorno dagli Archivi*, 115-134; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "'Pro Armenis Unitis cum conditionibus': La costruzione della Chiesa degli Armeni a Livorno un iter lungo e accidentato," in Giangiacomo Panessa and Massimo Sanacuore (eds), *Gli Armeni a Livorno: L'intercultura di una diaspora* (Livorno: Archivio di Stato di Livorno, 2006), 27-41; Alessandro Orengo, "La Livorno degli Armeni: Livorno e la Toscana in alcune fonti armeni dei secoli XVI e XVII," in Panessa and Sanacuore, *Gli Armeni a Livorno*, 17-26; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Per la storia dell'insediamento degli Armeni a Livorno nel Seicento," in *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia: Atti del convegno internazionale*, (Pisa: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1998), 23-41; Renato Ghezzi, "Mercanti armeni a Livorno nel XVII secolo," in *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, 43-53; Daniele Pesciatini, "Il 'Celebi' del bagno turco," in *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, 73-101; R. Ciorli, "L'insediamento urbano della nazione armena a Livorno," *Gli Armeni lungo le strade d'Italia*, 164-167; Guido Bellatti Ceccoli, *Tra Toscana e Medioriente: la storia degli arabi cattolici a Livorno (secoli XVII-XX)* (Livorno: Editasca, 2008).

⁸⁰ For example, in July 1686, Pisa's ecclesiastical curate called upon the linguistic skills of a Dominican missionary "of the Armenian nation" in order to interrogate the Turkish slaves who were owned by Livorno's Jews. See chapter five for discussion of this episode. ASF, MP, 2328a, unpagged, dated July 10, 1686.

texts circulated in Livorno, and by 1669 there was an Armenian press operating in the port.⁸¹

Despite the close cooperation that existed between Catholic Armenians, the Tuscan regime and the Holy See, tensions between the Ottoman and Persian Armenians merchants continued to mount. In 1646, Grand Duke Ferdinando II agreed that the two groups could operate under separate consuls. Despite this mercantile concession, the Medici regime nonetheless expected the religious activities of the entire Armenian *nazione* to be jointly supervised from afar by a Levantine (Ottoman) bishop. The Grand Duke's action prompted a group of Persian Armenians to sign a letter of protest in which they threatened to divert their mercantile activities away from Livorno if they were not permitted to frequent the religious establishments of their choosing.⁸²

Although Livorno's secular officials could not manifestly block the efforts of Pisan inquisitors, archival evidence testifies to their willingness to tolerate dissimulation and even engage in subtle subterfuge. Thus, while the regime could not openly accommodate heterodox members of Livorno's Armenian community, the regime did use the tactics of passive obstruction to temper the actions of the Holy Office. For example, when the Holy Office issued a 1669 decree that forbid Livorno's priests from offering the sacrament to Armenians unwilling to declare a profession of faith, Livorno's governor was instructed to post the decree in the sacristy of Livorno's churches instead of in a

⁸¹ The first Armenian language text was a David's Psalter. Panessa, *Nazioni e consoli in Livorno*, 20.

⁸² Ibid., 21; Armenians also frequented the oratory of Saints Cosimo and Damiano. Frattarelli Fischer, "Per la storia dell'insediamento degli Armeni a Livorno nel Seicento," 23-41.

public space, thereby rendering it valid only as ecclesiastical law and not as a state judicial action.⁸³

Many foreigners in Livorno chose Catholic dissimulation as the most expedient means to avoid complications. Consequently, Livorno's Catholic Churches, particularly the multinational Church of the Madonna, undoubtedly welcomed crypto-schismatic Armenians, Calvinists, Anglicans and Lutherans into their congregations.⁸⁴ Although church attendance was conspicuously low during the Easter season when presumed Protestants or schematics celebrated the religious holiday elsewhere, the regime preferred not to inquire about the potentially heretical activities of visiting and resident foreigners. Lucia Frattarelli Fisher's work in the Archives of the Holy Office has revealed a 1622 report by a Franciscan inquisitor who described Livorno's pastoral inconsistencies to the Holy Office as such, "It is not ordinary to make a registry of those who go to communion or even note those who do not ... [and] one hears about marriages between Catholic women and presumed protestants."⁸⁵ Inconsistent record keeping was not the inquisitor's only concern. His report lamented the uncooperative attitude of the *Livornesi* and complained that regime officials watched his every step and reported his every action

⁸³ ASF, MP, Famiglia Serristori, 437, unpaginated letter dated June 9, 1669. This episode is also described by Frattarelli Fischer, "Pro Armenis Unitis cum conditionibus," 32.

⁸⁴ Livorno's Catholic Church of the Madonna hosted chapels for numerous mercantile *nazioni*, including the French, English, and Portuguese.

⁸⁵ "Non è ordinario farsi registro di quelli che vanno alla comunione e nemmeno di notare quelli che non ci vanno, si vociferava di matrimoni fra donne cattoliche e presunti protestanti." Cited by Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 208. The complete report, "Informazione sulle nazioni straniere che al presente si trovano a Livorno," is located in the *Archivio della Congregazione della Fede*.

directly to the Florentine court.⁸⁶ According to the Franciscan inquisitor, the port's residents had the audacity to "presume themselves different" on account of their engagement in trade.⁸⁷

Although Livorno's secular officials could only passively shelter schismatic Armenians, the regime coddled wealthy Armenians who were willing to declare their allegiance to Catholicism. Among the most extravagant examples of this practice was the regime's effort to appease the Armenian Ottoman, Antonio Bogos, who settled permanently in Livorno in the mid-1650s.⁸⁸ On account of Antonio Bogos's wealth and influence, Medici officials frequently referred to the Armenian merchant by his honorific Ottoman title, *Celebi*. As the brother of a former Ottoman tax official in the port of Smyrna, the *Celebi* had access to extensive Levantine mercantile networks. However, after his brother abruptly lost favor with the Sultan and was executed, Bogos was forced to flee the Ottoman Empire and by the mid 1650s was seeking refuge in a European port. Although Bogos had previously conducted business in Livorno, the Medici regime worried that the Armenian might bypass their port to resettle in the port of Venice. Consequently, the regime went to great lengths to convince him to remain in Livorno.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ibid., "perché tutti i suoi passi erano notati e ogni minimo atto si scriveva a corte."

⁸⁷ Ibid., "stimano poter star diversi per occasione di mercatura."

⁸⁸ Bogos lived in Smyrna as late as 1651 and purchased property in Livorno in 1655. Pesciatini dates his arrival in Livorno to 1656. Pesciatini, "Il 'Celebi' del bagno turco," 76; Frattarelli Fischer, "Per la storia dell'insediamento degli Armeni a Livorno nel Seicento," 33.

⁸⁹ Mattias de Medici, brother of the Grand Duke Ferdinando II, was very active in attending to Bogos's requests. Ibid.; See also ASV, Senato Secreta, Dispacci degli Ambasciatori, 61, f. 33-37, 62, 66, 84, and 86.

By outwardly confirming his allegiance to the Catholic faith, Antonio Bogos enjoyed preferential treatment from the Medici regime ever since first taking refuge in Livorno in 1656.⁹⁰ The Armenian notable amassed great wealth and status over the course of his eighteenth-year residence in Livorno prior to his 1674 death. Although Bogos was not the only wealthy Armenian active in mid-seventeenth century Livorno, he was the most notable Levantine to achieve Tuscan citizenship. Indeed, his presence fundamentally altered Livorno's relationship to the Levant, both due to his service as an economic and diplomatic intermediary but also for his role as a type of cultural ambassador whose wealth and flamboyance exemplified forms of Levantine culture that were quite different from Livorno's pitiable Turkish slaves.⁹¹

Bogos's economic and diplomatic connections facilitated trade between Livorno, Smyrna, Tunis and Amsterdam. As the eventual owner of six active shipping vessels he invested significant personal capital in these mercantile activities. Moreover, he frequently served as an intermediary between the regime officials and visiting Armenians, North Africans and Ottoman Levantines in the port. His patrimony in the Tuscan Duchy included property investments in Pisa and Livorno and in 1665 he was granted Tuscan citizenship. In conjunction with other prominent Armenian merchants, Bogos helped introduce various aspects of Levantine culture to Livorno; these curiosities included the colorful silk robes and turbans that were typical of Armenian merchants in

⁹⁰ Immediately upon his arrival in Livorno, Bogos was housed in the Marzocco tower, which the regime reserved for "nuncios, princes and important people." "nunzi, principi, e personaggi grandissimi." Quoted by Pesciatini, "Il 'Celebi' del bagno turco," 76.

⁹¹ Bogos was not the only influential Levantine to reside in Livorno. See chapter five for discussion of the extended diplomatic visit of Fakhr al-Dīn, a Lebanese Emir who resided in Tuscany from 1613-1618 with his entourage and harem.

addition to the social custom of drinking coffee, a curious substance formerly unknown to most Europeans.

Bogos hosted foreign dignitaries at his personal residence on several occasions. In 1661, the Armenian received an envoy sent by the Pasha of Tunis, and in 1671, he welcomed the French Marquis de Seignelay.⁹² Presumably, Bogos's *de facto* role in Tuscan diplomacy convinced the Medici regime to grant him permission to construct an extravagant Oriental-style palace in Livorno. [Fig. 4.6] Discussion for the project began as early as 1662, and regime officials at the time were hard pressed to find a building site sufficiently large to suit the demands of the fickle Armenian. Finally, regime officials allowed Bogos to build upon a site in Livorno that was formerly used for the state Arsenal (*remolari*).⁹³ In exchange for this privilege, the Armenian agreed to bequeath the palace complex to the Tuscan Grand Duchy upon his death. Construction on the building was executed between 1664-6.

Although the earliest known floor plan of the structure likely postdates the renovations made to the building after Bogos's 1674 death, it was nonetheless clear that the luxurious *palazzo* included an interior courtyard and several gardens. Contemporary

⁹² Bogos served in a quasi-diplomatic capacity after he took up residence in Livorno. In one episode from 1661, the Armenian intervened into the regime's foreign affairs after Livorno's officials insulted an envoy sent by the Pasha of Tunis. For more on this episode, see the letters sent from the secretary of war to Governor Serristori dated March 16-17, 1661. ASF, Serristori Famiglia, 435, unpagged.

⁹³ In discussing the site for Bogos's future palace the secretary of war complained to Livorno's governor that the Armenian's mind was "easy changeable" and that they must act fast. ASF, Serristori Famiglia, 435, unpagged, dated March 21, 1661 ab. Inc. "Sentirà V.S.I. dall'Ingeniere Tacca come finalmente io ho condotto il Signore Celebi à contentarsi di comprare il sito de remolari per fabbricare. E se S.A. li vorrà vendere anco qualche altra cosa mi pare d'averlo persuado à spendere in Livorno fino a 50/m pezze. Bisognerebbe stringere presto perché questo è un cervello facile à mutarsi. Vorrebbe piacere, e li pare anco di meritarlo, perché fa un gran esagerare la cosa del Palazzo, avendo (dice lui) tenuto indisposto molto tempo il denaro, e fatto anco grandemente spese in abbigliamento che non lo possa servire altrove."

descriptions of the palace interior described how the internal rooms separated the living quarters of the women and men. Most remarkably, though, was the expense and rarity of Bogos's inclusion of Turkish steam baths within the building complex. Understandably, the Armenian Celebi, his oriental palace, and the Turkish "*stufa*" were of great interest to locals and visitors in Livorno.⁹⁴ The French Marquis de Seignelay recounted his experience as a guest in this luxurious residence of in a letter dated to March 19, 1671:

I retired to the home of the Cheri-Bey who hosted me. He is a Turk by nationality who had been *testedar* of the Sultan, that is to say the master of the Customs house of Constantinople; He retired with his riches in Christendom believing that the Sultan, who had strangled his brother, would give him the same treatment. He went at the time to the coast of Italy and after asking for protection from the Grand Duke he retired to Livorno where he constructed a very beautiful home in the Turkish style and made the Grand Duke his inheritor. The apartments of the women are separated from those of the men. There are very clean and comfortable baths and he hosted and treated me with great magnificence.⁹⁵

Bogos died in 1574 without any legally recognized heirs. His palace and patrimony rested in the hands of the Tuscan State and after significant modifications, his residence was

⁹⁴ The French missionary Jean-Baptiste Labat described how Livorno's Levantine residents used the Turkish baths, which was a practice also common in the port of Marseilles. "Il aborde à Livourne tant de gens du Levant, ou d'autres qui y ont été, & qui y ont contracté l'habitude de se servir des étuves, & des bains à la Turquie, que cet usage s'y est introduit aussi bien qu'à Marseille." Labat, *Voyage de P. Labat*, 150.

⁹⁵ "Je me suis venu retirer chez le Chéri-Bey, qui m'a logé. C'est un Turc de nation, qui étoit autrefois *testedar* du grand-seigneur, c'est-à-dire maître de la douane de Constantinople; il se retira avec beaucoup de richesse en chrétienté, craignant que le grand-seigneur, qui avoit fait étrangler son frère, ne lui fit le même traitement. Il vint en ce temps-là sur la côte d'Italie, et après demande de protection au grand-duc, il s'est retiré à Livourne, où il a bâti une très-belle maison à la manière turque et fait le grand duc son héritier. L'appartement des femmes est séparé de celui des hommes. Il a des bains très-propres et très commodes, et il m'a logé et traité fort magnifiquement." Dated March 19, 1671, in Marquis de Seignelay, *L'Italie en 1671: relation d'un voyage* (Paris: Didier, 1867), 121-2; cited in Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi: Inedite o rare* (Livorno: U. Bastogi Editore, 1888), 115.

transformed into a Ducal palace.⁹⁶ In many ways, the Armenian Celebi represented the Medici regime's ideal immigrant. By taking refuge in Livorno, Bogos brought wealth and diplomatic cachet to the port. Moreover, and perhaps most importantly of all, his exotic ostentation remained safely veiled in his official status as a Levantine Catholic.

Finally, in 1701, the papacy approved construction of an Armenian church in Livorno. [Fig. 4.7] Among the many conditions that were placed on the Armenian community was the pope's stipulation that the Armenian congregation would never mention the Supreme Patriarch during Mass.⁹⁷ Although the project progressed slowly during the reign of Duke Cosimo III, in 1714 the Armenian Church of St. Gregory the Illuminator was consecrated. Livorno's Greek Orthodox community was forced to wait even longer before obtaining a separate legally recognized church. Their requests for sanctioned religious expression were denied for the entire span of the port's Medici rule and it was not until 1757, during the reign of Grand Duke Francesco Stefano of the Lorraine dynasty, that a Greek schismatic Church of the Holy Trinity was built in Livorno.⁹⁸

‘Apparent’ Catholics, Protestants, and the Pisan Inquisition

Although the *Livornine* decrees explicitly guaranteed Jewish immigrants a synagogue, cemetery and amnesty from the Inquisition, the protections offered to other

⁹⁶ The inheritance intended for Bogos's nephew was ruled illegitimate by the Medici regime due to the nephew having "turned Turk." Pesciatini, "Il 'Celebi' del bagno turco."

⁹⁷ Panessa, *Nazioni e consoli in Livorno*, 21.

⁹⁸ Paolo Castignoli, "La comunità Livornese dei Greci non uniti," *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 109-115.

non-Catholics were far less precise. In 1594, the Protestant English gentleman Fynes Moryson described his strategy for avoiding Catholic Inquisitors while traveling through Pisa and Livorno. By frequently changing towns within the territory of the Tuscan Duchy, Moryson was able to elude the observation of inquisitors who otherwise may have noticed his absence from Sunday mass. Written in the years immediately following the *Livornine*, Moryson's testimony suggests that while the Inquisition was considered less of an immediate threat in Tuscany than it was in other parts of post-Tridentine Italy, the Grand Duke was nonetheless unable to protect the most rash of offenders:

The next morning I took my journey to Pisa, thus by often removing, I might shun all question of my religion, into which they use to observe who receives not the Sacrament: for howsoever there be lesse danger of the Inquisition in this State, yet the Duke using not, and scarce being able to protect those that rashly give open offense, I thought good thus warily to avoide these snares.⁹⁹

However, long-time residents in Livorno could not easily apply Moryson's tactic of evasion and several of Livorno's *nazioni* incorporated Protestant members. For the consuls of these nations, the duty to promote and supervise their community was particularly challenging. In 1610, the Catholic English consul in Livorno, Thomas Hunt, felt compelled to warn Livorno's officials about the arrival of three English ship captains whom he denounced as "not Catholic... men of nefarious business."¹⁰⁰ However, by 1620 Protestants were the majority within the English *nazione* and by the late seventeenth

⁹⁹ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (1617), Vol. I (Glasgow: MacLehose, 1907), 308.

¹⁰⁰ "Et perché questi dice sono uomini di male affare e di mala vita non sendo Cattolici et Ribelli del Re, dubita che non facciano in questo porto qualche levata o qualche cosa da fare perdere la Grazie di loro altissime a tutto la loro Nazione." ASF, MP, 1303, f. 206.

century the economically powerful leaders of the British Factory had become vocal advocates for religious privileges on behalf of their Protestant members.

In order to avoid provoking a scandal that could draw the attention of inquisitorial authorities, most Protestants in Livorno were forced to attend Mass in Catholic churches and baptize their children in the central Duomo. Meanwhile, they staged clandestine religious ceremonies in private homes or on boats and they buried their dead in unsanctified suburban plots. Although officially granting Protestants these privileges would have caused too great a scandal for the Holy Office, the regime nonetheless refrained from interfering with practices that occurred quietly and beyond the view of Papal inquisitors. In 1622, Livorno's Governor wrote a letter to the Grand Duchess Maria Magdalena which expressed muted approval for these forms of dissimulation, "the Flemish who reside here live with great circumspection, [they] do not set a poor example, [and they] comport themselves, at least apparently, as good Catholics and without any ostentation of being heretics."¹⁰¹

Although dissimulation was the most prudent solution for Protestants in Livorno, for many foreign merchants and their families, personal and economic ties to their 'heretical' confession proved more valuable than the potential rewards of dissimulation. Despite persistent supplications to the Grand Duke by merchants and the British crown, Livorno's Protestants were prohibited from active proselytizing and were denied access to a recognized Anglican minister or a legally sanctioned space for worship until the

¹⁰¹ Governor Montauto wrote, "li fiamminghi che stanziano qua vivono con molta circospezione, non danno malo esempio, trattano, almeno apparentemente, da buoni cattolici e senza ostentazione di eretico." Quoted by Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 208. See also ASF, MP, 2083, letters dated January 21 and February 2, 1621 ab. Inc. (1622).

eighteenth century. However, in 1642, Duke Ferdinando II conceded privileges *ad personam* to certain individual Protestants in recognition of the diplomatic immunity granted to them as agents of the British crown. This privilege allowed them to host Protestant tutors in their private homes and gave their immediate families access to worshipping in private home chapels. However, as the work of Stefano Villani has demonstrated, when such activities became overt or politicized, the Tuscan regime was forced to take action to placate the Holy Office.¹⁰²

One such scandal erupted on January 1, 1644 after a weekly London newspaper published an inflammatory headline about a Protestant baby that had been baptized “a few miles from Rome.”¹⁰³ The scandalous report linked the baptism of a Protestant child in Livorno with millenarian prophecies that predicted the demise of the papacy.¹⁰⁴ As news of this headline reached Rome, the Tuscan Grand Duchy traced the source of the scandal to the home of Robert Sainthill who housed a Protestant minister in his home as a special concession afforded to him due to his status as an agent to King Charles I. Although Sainthill had received permission from the Grand Duke to keep a minister in his private home, the Duchy reprimanded him for abusing their “kindness” by allowing the minister to preach so openly. Although Sainthill initially complied with the regime’s order to remove the preacher, within a few months he began hosting a different Protestant

¹⁰² Villani, “Alcune note sulle recinzioni dei cimiteri acattolici livornesi”; Villani, “Cum scandolo catholicorum”; Villani, “Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration.”

¹⁰³ Quoted by Villani, “Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration,” 104.

¹⁰⁴ Villani describes how the article linked the dire predictions for the papacy with the power struggle then underway between the papacy and several Italian states (including Tuscany) engaged in the War of Castro. Ibid.

minister. The actions of Sainthill and other English merchants led to numerous expulsions of Anglican ministers from Livorno in 1645, 1649, 1666, 1668 and 1670. As Stefano Villani's analysis of this and similar scandals amongst Livorno's English Protestant mercantile community has demonstrated, the religious liberties that were permitted to Anglican Protestants in Livorno fluctuated greatly based not only on the Medici regime's relationship with the Holy Office but also on the changing political situation in England.¹⁰⁵ Although Livorno's English nation was finally granted permission to keep a recognized Anglican minister in their midst in 1707, a free standing Protestant church was not constructed in the city until the construction of the Dutch and German Church in 1864.¹⁰⁶

A Jewish Ghetto without Walls

While the *Livornine* privileges explicitly guaranteed Livorno's Jewish residents access to a synagogue, the regime nonetheless dictated the location, size and exterior appearance of the building.¹⁰⁷ The city's first synagogue was installed in 1595 in a building situated along Livorno's *Via Ferdinanda* in a room adjacent to the private residence of the erstwhile consul of the Jewish nation, Maggino di Gabriello.¹⁰⁸ By

¹⁰⁵ Villani notes that treatment of English Protestants in Livorno was affected by events including the 1605 peace treaty between Spain and England and the turbulent English civil war. Ibid., 101.

¹⁰⁶ Panessa, *Nazioni e consoli in Livorno*, 29.

¹⁰⁷ Michele Luzzati (ed.), *Le tre sinagoghe: edifici di culto e vita ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento* (Torino: Livorno Comune di Livorno, 1995).

¹⁰⁸ Maggino di Gabriello was initially named consul for the Jewish nation before the 1593 amendments to the *Livornine*. For more on Jewish property ownership and Livorno's urban development, see Donatella Battilotti, "Luoghi di commercio e produzione degli stranieri negli primi anni d'espansione Livornese

February 1604, the *massari* of the Jewish *nazione* began negotiating with Grand Duke Ferdinando for permission to build a new synagogue that would be under the tutelage of the entire community instead of a private individual. These discussions concluded in 1606, when the Grand Duke offered the Jewish *nazione* a significant loan to build and perpetually lease land for a purpose-built synagogue in Livorno's new city. However, the regime specified that the new synagogue must be located on a site behind the city's Cathedral several blocks away from Livorno's central *piazza*.¹⁰⁹ In addition, the Grand Duchy strictly prohibited the Jewish community from adding any exterior decoration to the synagogue façade.¹¹⁰ [Fig. 4.8] Consequently, while the Baroque interior of the building became increasingly lavish over the course of subsequent enlargements and renovations, the street-side façade was not demarcated until the late nineteenth century.¹¹¹

In 1609, the regime ordered the Jewish *nazione* to close the first synagogue in order to concentrate Jewish worship in the sanctioned Sephardic Synagogue.¹¹² Over the

(1587-1609)," *Città et Storia* II, Vol. 1 (2007): 45-60; Frattarelli Fischer, "Lo sviluppo di una città portuale: Livorno, 1575-1720"; Frattarelli Fischer, "Case e propretari a Livorno nel Seicento."

¹⁰⁹ In 1607, the Medici regime abruptly ordered Jewish residents on the *Via Ferdinanda* to relocate their homes. This action was intended to make more space available to Christian merchants. As described in an order dated April 8, 1607, "perché noi siamo resoluti di levare di Via Ferdinanda tutti li ebrei per servircene per Mercanti Christiani, et mettere detti ebrei vicini alla lor sinagoga vogliamo ricomprare dal Ceppo di Prato tutte dette case, con restituirli il medesimo prezzo che li furono vendete." ASF, MP, 67, f. 319; see also Frattarelli Fischer, *Vivere fuori dal ghetto*, 108-111.

¹¹⁰ Similar restrictions were imposed on Jewish synagogues elsewhere in Europe. See Carol Herselle Krinsky, *The Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning* (New York: Architectural history Foundation and MIT Press, 1985), 252.

¹¹¹ In 1875, the architect Luigi Boni renovated Livorno's synagogue. Boni reoriented the rear and frontal facades of the original structure. In addition, the project of urban renewal cleared space for a small piazza in the front of the synagogue and the redesigned the building's marble façade with moldings and exterior Jewish symbols.

¹¹² For discussion of property disputes in 1610 concerning the site of the former synagogue, see ASF, MP, 1303, f. 48.

course of the seventeenth century Livorno's synagogue and adjoined *scuola* became a central node for Livorno's growing Jewish community. While population estimates differ, the Jewish *nazione* in Livorno increased from roughly 124 individuals in 1601 to reach approximately 3,500 by 1689.¹¹³ Even when adjusted to more conservative estimates, Jews represented roughly 10-13% of Livorno's late seventeenth century population and proportionally their financial power was even greater. Membership in the Jewish *nazione* drew from across the Sephardic and Levantine diaspora, from Tunisia to Amsterdam. However, prominent Spanish and Portuguese-speaking Sephardim dominated the *massari* leadership. While jurisdictional autonomy empowered Livorno's *massari*, it also made them accountable for the behaviour and economic well being of the Jewish community. The *massari*'s internal policing of the Jewish *nazione* resulted in the marginalization of impoverished Italian, North African and especially Ashkenazi Jews.¹¹⁴

Despite ecclesiastical protests, in 1642 the Jewish *nazione* was granted authorization to enlarge their synagogue by renovating the buildings that stood on the synagogue's original site. By expanding into the building's upper levels, the enlarged synagogue accommodated women separately through the creation of upper galleries. Although external visual markers that distinguished the building as a synagogue were still

¹¹³ See chapter three for discussion of Livorno's total demographic growth. Fasano Guarini estimates that Livorno's Jewish population increased from 124 in 1601 to 711 in 1622, and reached 2,397 in 1693. Trivellato estimates there were 3,500 Jews in Livorno in 1689. Elena Fasano Guarini, "Esenzioni e immigrazione a Livorno tra sedicesimo e diciassettesimo secolo," *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978), 56-75; Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 54-55.

¹¹⁴ Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers*, 74-84.

outlawed, the tall height of the roof (6 meters) led some regime officials to worry that people could mistake the building for a church. However, as one Medici administrator pragmatically concluded, the enlarged synagogue had neither a bell tower nor an organ and thus it would not be apparent that religious activities were ongoing inside.¹¹⁵ Although Livorno's enlarged synagogue was initially modeled after the acclaimed Sephardic Synagogue in Amsterdam, the interior decoration of the space diverged significantly from the sober Calvinist influence reflected in the Dutch synagogue. Instead, the interior space of Livorno's synagogue reflected the decorative style of the Italian Baroque through the inclusion of silver lamps, polychrome marble and gilded details. Although the synagogue's interior was a clear testament to the affluence and acculturation of Livorno's Jewish population, the Medici regime insisted that this ostentation remain hidden behind an otherwise indistinct building façade.

Foreigners who visited Livorno's synagogue and Jewish residential quarter frequently remarked that the urban integration and visible acculturation of Livorno's Jewish elite rendered them virtually indistinguishable from their Christian peers. Although there were no walls surrounding their residential area or legal curfews imposed upon the population, travellers sometimes mistakenly referred to it as the Jewish ghetto. As the 1747 edition of Francesco Scotto's travel narrative describes, "it is worth seeing

¹¹⁵ This conclusion by the Provveditore della Fabbrica, Jacopo Peruzzi, is cited by Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori del ghetto*, 147.

the Ghetto of the Jews, where they live in great cleanliness and magnificence, many of them being very wealthy and they have a pretty synagogue.”¹¹⁶

Indeed, the urban integration of Livorno’s Jews had the power to elicit strong and diverse reactions, which rested uncomfortably between a sometimes exaggerated and celebratory philosemitism and deep-seated anti-Semitism. The testimony of the French Dominican missionary, naturalist and ethnographer, Jean-Baptiste Labat, epitomizes the latter. His lengthy published description of Livorno was based on his visits to the city from 1704 to 1716. He begins describing Livorno’s Jewish population by repeating observations commonplace to many travel narratives:

[Jews] see Livorno and the rest of the Grand Duke’s state, like a new promised land... they are free, they wear no symbol that distinguishes them from the Christians, they are not closed in their quarter, and they are rich.¹¹⁷

Labat marveled at how Jewish men and women in Livorno were so well dressed that they appeared to be indistinguishable from “Italians or Frenchmen.”¹¹⁸ After grossly

¹¹⁶ “è da vedersi il Ghetto degli’Ebrei, che vivono in esso con gran pulizia, e magnificenza, essendovene molti ricchissimi, e vi hanno una bella Sinagoga.” Francesco Scotto, *Itinerario d’Italia: In questa nuova edizione abbellito di rami, accresciuto, ordinato, ed emendato, ove si descrivono tutte le principali città d’Italia, e luoghi celebri, con le loro origini, antichità, e monumenti singolari, che nelle medesime si ammirano* (Roma: Fausto Amidei, 1747), 192. Francesco Scotto’s travel narrative first appeared in 1610 and was republished posthumously in 1651, 1687, and 1747. The 1747 edition contained the image of Livorno’s port featured in Figure 4.1.

¹¹⁷ “Ces gens regardent Livourne, & le reste des Etats du Grand Duc, comme une nouvelle terre de promission. En effet, ils y sont libres, ne portent aucune marque qui les distingue des Chrétiens; ne sont point enfermés dans leur quartier, sont riches.” Labat, *Voyage de P. Labat*, 135.

¹¹⁸ Francesca Trivellato discusses the patterns of acculturation that were common among Livorno’s Sephardic Jewish community. These included their emulation of the rhetorical patterns, dress and business culture of their Christian peers. She argues that these forms of cultural assimilation facilitated trade between Sephardim and non-Jews by generating patterns of predictability that fostered business trust. She argues further that Livorno’s strong corporatist identities served to neutralize the perceived threat of cultural or religious difference that facilitated, rather than hindered, cross-cultural trade. Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers*.

overestimating the Jewish population he described their seemingly unnatural multiplication, “as I passed through that city ... their number increased in front of my eyes, they rented houses that had been inhabited by Christians, and ... they would soon fill up the whole city.”¹¹⁹

While nearly all travel narratives describing Livorno emphasized the wealth and populous nature of Livorno’s Sephardim, they typically offered explicit or implied approval for the economic rationale of Livorno’s toleration. In contrast, Labat’s interest in Livorno’s Jewish quarter was rooted in contempt rather than curiosity, as revealed in the anti-Semitic vitriol underlying his analysis of Livorno’s Jewish residential quarter:

Their neighborhood is comprised of three streets, the houses are pretty, but the streets are dirtier than any of those in the City. It seems that filth is characteristic of this miserable Nation. One smells a bland and disagreeable odor in their houses, and even if the majority is well furnished, one does not need to ask if Jews inhabit them, the odor reveals it enough.¹²⁰

Although Labat admits that the urban luxury of Livorno’s Jewish elite contrasted sharply with the cramped and often unhygienic conditions typical of the Jewish ghettos elsewhere, he manipulates this evidence to serve as further condemnation of Jewish sin:

I have often heard disputed the origins of the infection that comes out of these people. Some say that is because everywhere they are poor and miserable, malnourished, with bad meats, being extremely closed in their houses, where frequently a mean hovel contains the numerous family, [...]

¹¹⁹ “Je n’ai jamais pû sçavoir au juste le nombre des Habitants ... Ce qu’il y a de certaine, c’est qu’en 1710 il y avoit vingt-deux mille juifs ... On se plaignoit en 1716 quand je passai par cette ville, que leur nombre croissoit à vûë d’œil, qu’ils louïoient des maisons qui n’avoient jamais été habitée que par des Chrétiens & qui si le prince n’y mettoit ordre ils remploient bien tôt toute la Ville.” Labat, *Voyage de P. Labat*, 134.

¹²⁰ “Leur quartier comprend trois ruës, les maisons sont belles, mais les ruës y sont plus sales, que dans toute la reste de la Ville. Il semble que la saleté soit l’apanage de cette malheureuse Nation. On sent une odeur fade, & désagréable dans leurs maisons, & quoique la plupart soient très-bien meublées, on n’a que de demandes en y entrant si elles sont habitées par de Juifs, l’odorat le découvre asses.” Ibid., 134-5.

the air becomes stagnant, infected, and fills itself with bad odors ... But this reasoning has no place in Livorno, [where] they are housed in as much space as they please. They extend their neighborhood as much as they want. In fact, they are almost all rich, well dressed, and if they are malnourished it is their own fault ... Where then does this bad odor come from? A good number of people believe it is attached to their bodies, some maintain that it is part of their punishment that they deserve for the abhorrent deicide that they committed, for which until now they have shown no sign of repentance.¹²¹

Indeed, anti-Semitic rhetoric was not the only threat to Livorno's Jews and archival evidence testifies to the risks that urban integration posed to the Jews' physical safety, particularly during moments of crisis. While Livorno's open Jewish quarter was a testament to their elite status, the urban integration left them physically unprotected and vulnerable.

The Crisis of Inclusion: Jews, Muslims, and Ottoman Hostilities

The Tuscan Duchy's willingness to selectively turn a blind eye to non-Catholic religious worship in Livorno created a dynamic similar to what Benjamin Kaplan has outlined for the Dutch Republic's *shuilkerk*, or "semi-clandestine churches" that were "open secrets" hidden from public view. Despite the political, social and theological differences that distinguished the Calvinist Dutch Republic from post-Tridentine Tuscany, the secular leaders of both regimes manipulated the "early modern fictions of

¹²¹ "J'ai souvent entendu disputer sur l'origine de l'infection qui sort de ces gens-là. Les uns disent qu'étant par tout pauvres et misérables, se nourrissant très-mal, et des mauvais viandes étant extrêmement serrés dans leurs maisons, où souvent un méchant trou renferme toute une famille très-nombreuse, il arrive par une suite nécessaire que l'air se corrompt, s'infecte & se remplit des odeurs mauvaises que la mal-propreté ne manque jamais de produire. Mais cette raison ne devrait pas avoir lieu à Livourne, ils sont logés aussi au large qu'ils leur plaît. Ils étendent leur quartier tant qu'ils veulent ... D'ailleurs ils sont tous ou presque tous riches, bien vêtus, s'ils se nourrissent mal, c'est leur faute, & c'est dont je ne suis pas assez bien informé. D'où vient donc cette mauvaise odeur? Bien des gens croient qu'elle est attachée à leur corps, à quelques-uns soutiennent que c'est une partie de la punition qu'ils ont mérité par le déicide exécrable, qu'ils ont commis, à dont jusqu'à présent on ne voit point qu'ils se repentent. Je n'aime pas à décider ... Je laisse au Public la liberté d'en porter tel jugement qu'il voudra."

privacy” which neutralized the perceived threat of religious difference through its removal from the public sphere. From Livorno’s clandestine Protestant home chapels to the city’s lavish synagogue devoid of façade decoration, the supposed secrecy and invisibility of these spaces provided, “the necessary pretense ... around one of the chief obstacles to religious pluralism: the central role of religion in defining communal identities.”¹²²

The central role that Catholicism played within the communal identity of the Tuscan Grand Duchy was unquestionable. Medici propaganda actively promoted the state’s identity as a defender of the Catholic faith, and the regime closely guarded their Papal, Spanish and Imperial allies. Although Livorno’s military neutrality and *de facto* toleration ameliorated many of the linguistic and cultural barriers to trade, Livorno still housed a microcosm for international, religious and political tensions. From the Jewish ghettos in nearby Florence and Siena to the Duchy’s ongoing war against the ‘infidel’ Turks, the tolerations of the *Livornine* were a foil to the orthodoxy enforced elsewhere by the regime.

Despite the concessions granted to minorities, Livorno was an active, albeit anomalous, participant in this Catholic communal identity. With Catholic festivities spilling into Livorno’s main piazza, and religious orders drawn to the port for their missionary activities, the conversion of Jews and Muslims were publically celebrated in state-sponsored events.¹²³ The Medici’s alliance with the Holy Roman Empire and their

¹²² Kaplan, *Divided By Faith*, 176.

¹²³ Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Cristiani nuovi e nuovi ebrei in Toscana fra Cinque e Seicento: Legittimazioni e percorsi individuali," in P.C. Ioly Zorattini (ed.), *L'identità dissimulata. Giudaizzanti iberici nell'Europa*

sponsorship of the Crusading Naval Order of St. Stephen actively entangled the Tuscan Grand Duchy with fervent anti-Ottoman animosity. Even the exterior facades of buildings facing Livorno's central *piazza* were covered in frescoes that advertised the military victories of Catholic forces against the Ottoman Empire. Such propaganda exacerbated racial and national hostilities already present amongst the diverse peoples in the port. While most Muslims merchants were dissuaded from stopping in Livorno, those who did nervously sought letters of safe conduct to guarantee the safety of themselves and their merchandise.¹²⁴ In 1686, Livorno's authorities investigated allegations concerning a 'Turk' who was suspected of being a Muslim preacher. Although authorities did not uncover any incriminating evidence after searching the Turk's lodging, Muslims in the port were regularly subject to similar forms of harassment.¹²⁵

Anti-Ottoman hostilities affected the safety not only of suspected Muslims but also Livorno's Jewish population. Although Livorno managed to maintain its neutrality within the intra-European conflicts, such a position proved untenable during moments of crisis, particularly in light of Ottoman-Tuscan hostilities. Indeed, one violent episode that occurred in the summer of 1686 offers a more nuanced picture of social relations in

cristiana dell'età moderna (Florence: Olschki, 2000); Gabriella Puntoni, *La comunità ebraica di Livorno e la città: Percorsi culture e identità in un giuoco di specchi attraverso quattro secoli di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 2006); Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Percorsi di conversione di ebrei nella Livorno di fine Seicento," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* XIII (2006): 139-167; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Sul battesimo dei bambini ebrei: il caso di Livorno," in Adriano Prosperi (ed.), *Salvezza delle anime disciplina dei corpi: un seminario sulla storia del battesimo* (Pisa: Edizioni della Normale, 2006), 449-482.

¹²⁴ In 1663, the Armenian Antonio Bogos appealed on behalf of "many Turkish merchants" that desired letters of safe conduct to come to Livorno. ASF, MP, 2312: unpaginated, dated March 13, 1663.

¹²⁵ "Questa sera è stata fatta perquisizione in Casa d'un Turco, già schiavo delli SS.ri Grossi, di cui si dice esser qui Missionario di Sua Nazione, ma non gl'anno trovato cosa di pregiudizio ne si sa dove sia per terminare simil diligenze." ASF, MP, 2328a, unpaginated, dated June 26, 1668.

Livorno. On August 6, 1686, rumors circulated throughout Livorno that the Imperial army had taken control over the city of Buda (Hungary), a territory that had been in Ottoman possession for 143 years. As one bureaucrat reported, news of the victory prompted celebration throughout the city and these revelers began to congregate within the central piazza of the city:

At 22.00 hours today, a dispatch arrived with news of the conquest of Buda ... One hour later ... the General, sounded the bells of all churches in a sign of celebration and the *te deum* was sung in the Duomo, which was completely full of people giving thanks.¹²⁶

Although the celebrations began innocently enough, the report goes on to describe how spontaneous acts of ritualized violence erupted among the agitated populace:

The plebian boys, went about threatening the City in great number, with many torches lit, [and carried] a pike topped with a wooden head [made to simulate] the face of the [Ottoman] Pasha of Buda. They passed through the streets where the Jews are, [and they were threatened] such injuries, that they appealed to the General who attends to their security, and he gave timely orders. It was observed when the news arrived of the victory, the Jews all fled into their streets, and some were seen crying. It was equally noted that the French made no sign of happiness and despite the great number of people gathered in *Piazza Grande*, there was not even one of the French nation.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ “A Ore 22 del med.mo giorno qua per staffetta la nuova dell’espugnazione di Buda, spedita al S. Anton Paulo Franceschi di Firenze, dal S. Decano suo fratello, et un ora dopo arrivò l’avviso med.mo pur per staffetta al S. Generale, quale fece sonare le Campane di tutte le Chiese, in segno d’allegrezza, et fù cantato il Te Deum in Doma, ch’era ripieno di popolo, in redimento di grazie.” ASF, MP 2328a, unpagged, dated August 6, 1686.

¹²⁷ “I Ragazzi della Plebe, in gran numero andavano tripudiando per la Città, con molte granate accese, et con una testa di legno in cima d’un asta, pretendono con essa rappresentare quella del Bassa di Buda, et perché girando per le strade dove abitano l’ebrei fecero a questi qualche insulto ricorsero I medesimi al S. Generale, perché provvedesse alla loro sicurezza, come fece, danno a tal effetto gl’ordini opportuni. Fù osservato che gl’ebrei, giunta che fù la pred.a novità, si fuggirono tutti ... nelle loro strade, et alcuni furono veduti piangere. Fù parimente notato che I francesi non fecero segno d’allegrezza, et che in Piazza Grande, dov’era grand numero concorso di popolo, non vi era ne pur uno di detti Nazionali. Da alcuni principali della Città si vò in giro a far numerosa colletta di danaro per fare in appo. le feste premed.te per l’allegrezza accennata conquista.” Ibid., dated August 6, 1686.

The fluidity with which the ritualized execution of the Ottoman Pasha's effigy spilled over into real violence in Livorno's streets highlights how social and religious tensions fomented just below the surface of Livorno's religiously and nationally pluralistic community. Not only does the governmental report highlight how Livorno's Jews were perceived as collaborators with the Ottoman Empire, but it also notes how the French refrained from celebration, which alludes to France's peace treaty with the Ottomans. In Livorno and in all cosmopolitan ports, the entanglement of religious and national differences was exacerbated by real and perceived political alliances. The official's follow-up report three days later punctuates that the animosity between Catholic, Jewish, and Muslim residents was reciprocal:

After several days ... there has still not been confirmation about the new victory of Buda (though it is believed to be true) for this reason the Jews and Infidels have audaciously taken action to manifest signs of derision.¹²⁸

Thus, the same city that François Maximilien Misson's 1686 travel narrative described as an ideal of religious liberty was also a political and religious tinderbox where young Christian ruffians threatened Jews in the unsegregated streets.

Conclusion

In the early years of Livorno's growth, the Medici regime was willing to accept even the most desperate immigrants, who were given an opportunity to dissimulate and reinvent themselves. For crypto-Jews and New Christians it meant the ability to openly embrace Judaism, for others it meant an opportunistic conversion to Catholicism or the resolution to dissimulate. The presence of Jewish, Protestant, Schismatic Greek,

¹²⁸ "Il non sentire che venga confermata la nuova della presa di Buda cagione universal mestizia, poiché mancando di comparire, dopo tanti giorni, la conferma, è creduta non vera; Per la qual riflessione quest' ebrei et infedeli anno preso audacia di dare in manifesti atti di derisione." Ibid., dated August 9, 1686.

Schismatic Armenian and Muslim populations in the Catholic port forced regime officials to weigh multiple economic, diplomatic and theological considerations. Challenges to the regime came from within the community and from outside through the pressure of foreign diplomacy and the papacy. Using an expedient combination of juridical segregation and urban integration, the regime encouraged Catholic assimilation and Jewish consolidation while simultaneously tolerating Protestant dissimulation through unofficial laxity. By manipulating the dynamics of visibility and invisibility, assimilation and segregation, both the Medici regime and Livorno's minority groups sought to capitalize upon the ambiguity between explicit legal acceptance and tacit unofficial toleration.¹²⁹

Although the exercise of religious freedom in Livorno did not achieve a level comparable to the celebrated toleration of the Dutch Republic, the city generated a new model for pluralism that was distinct from the options available elsewhere in post-Tridentine Catholic territory. Contemporary perceptions of Livorno were shaped by the contrasting treatment of foreigners and religious minorities elsewhere in Europe, which ranged from the tolerant cosmopolitanism of seventeenth-century Amsterdam to the segregation of Italy's cramped and unhygienic Jewish ghettos. Given the aristocratic bias of most Grand Tour narratives, it is perhaps not surprising that many travellers overlooked some of the more vibrant forms of culture and sociality that were produced by Livorno's seventeenth-century populace, such as the entertainment offered to the

¹²⁹ Kaplan, *Divided By Faith*, 176.

mercantile classes at Livorno's Theatre of Comedies since its opening in 1658 or Livorno's Hebrew printing press, which began printing books as early as the 1640s.¹³⁰

Instead, traveler's descriptions of the port's minority topographies contained diverse and sometimes ambiguous implications that did not necessarily engender more tolerant attitudes. Nonetheless, the port's urban integration encouraged a growing cosmopolitan sensibility that included both non-Christian elites and non-elite minorities. Most visitors did not subscribe to either Misson's celebration for the Livorno's liberty nor Jean-Baptiste Labat's condemnation of this toleration. Rather, most visitors did not know what to make of Livorno. As the French parliamentarian, Charles de Brosses, described in 1739:

Imagine a new and very pretty pocket town, to be preserved in a snuffbox and you'll have Livorno ... To say which nation inhabits this city would not be an easy thing to sort out; it is shorter to say that it is inhabited by all sorts of nations from Europe and Asia; also the streets seem a true parade of masks and the language, that of the tower of Babel; nevertheless, the French language is the vulgate, or at least it is common enough that it can pass for it. The city is extremely populated and free, each nation has the exercise of its religion. I will not speak to you of the synagogue, or of the Armenian Church ... but the Greek Church has something in its form that merits a stop.¹³¹

¹³⁰ Fulvio Venturi, *L'opera lirica a Livorno, 1658-1847: dal Teatro di San Sebastiano al Rossini* (Livorno: Circolo musicale AdO Galliano Masini, 2004); Duccio Filippi, *La fabbrica del "Goldoni": architettura e cultura teatrale a Livorno (1658-1847)* (Venezia: Cataloghi Marsilio, 1989).

¹³¹ "Figurez-vous une petite ville de poche toute neuve, jolie à mettre dans une tabatière, voilà Livourne ... De dire par quelle nation cette ville est habitée, ce ne serait pas chose aisée à démêler; il est plus court de dire qu'elle l'est par toutes sortes de nations d'Europe et d'Asie; aussi les rues semblent-elles une vraie foire de masques et le langage, celui de la tour de Babel; cependant, la langue française est la vulgaire, ou du moins si commune, qu'elle peut passer pour telle. La ville est extrêmement peuplée et libre; chaque nation a l'exercice de sa religion. Je ne vous parle ni de la synagogue, ni de l'église des Arméniens ... mais l'église grecque a quelque chose dans sa forme qui mérite de s'y arrêter." Charles de Brosses, "Letter XXVIII, dated October 21, 1739" in F. d'Agay (ed.), *Lettres d'Italie du Président de Brosses*, Vol. I (France: Mercure de France, 1986), 396-7.

Although Charles de Brosses's letter evoked the biblical Tower of Babel as a means to describe Livorno's linguistic diversity, the Frenchman refrained from making an overtly positive or negative affirmation regarding the consequences of the port's religious and ethnic pluralism. However, not all allusions to Livorno as a Tower of Babel were neutral.

Amidst the 1644 controversy regarding the Protestant minister who preached in the home of the English agent Robert Sainthill, several local Catholics made denunciations to inquisitorial authorities. One such witness was a *Livornese* construction worker who had spied on the heretical Sunday meetings by peering through a hole in a ceiling lamp accessible from a room above Sainthill's private home chapel. The *Livornese* expressed disgust at the clandestine heretical activities of the Protestant preacher and congregation and remarked:

To transform Livorno in a new Babel we do not lack other than erecting a mosque so that even the Turks and Moors could exercise their barbaric functions.¹³²

The *Livornese* construction worker would have been surprised to learn that by the late seventeenth century the Medici regime had created precisely such a space for the Muslim slaves in Livorno's *bagno*.

¹³² "per far Livorno una nuova Babelle non ci manca altro che erregere una moschea acciò che i turchi e i mori possino esercitare ancor loro barbaricamente la loro funtione." Quoted by Villani within his analysis of documents from the Archivio Archivescovile di Pisa, Inquisizione, 14, folios 575r-595; see Villani, "Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration," 121.

**V: HARBORING THE INFIDEL:
NEGOTIATING SLAVERY IN LIVORNO'S TURKISH *BAGNO***

I Quattro Mori

[Fig. 5.1] Every merchant, sailor, priest, or convict who disembarked in mid-seventeenth-century Livorno was greeted by an evocative and imposing group of figures. Towering over the small piazza at the edge of the harbor stood a monumental sculpture depicting the city's founder, Duke Ferdinando I de' Medici, triumphantly posed above four cowering slaves. Dressed in the military regalia of the Knights of St. Stephen, the Duke's static marble rendering contrasted sharply with the dynamic bronze figures encircling his feet. With shackled arms chained to the pedestal, veins bulging from their exposed bodies, and heads shaved except for a tuft of hair, the individualized portrait of each slave evoked the *pathos* of his condition and the physiognomy of his Anatolian, Maghreb, or West African origin. [Fig. 5.2] Still extant today, this sculptural group initiated by Giovanni Bandini in 1595 and completed by Pietro Tacca in 1626 achieved iconic status and became popularly known throughout Europe as the *I Quattro Mori*, or the Four Moors.¹ [Fig. 5.3] Featured in Volterrano's frescoes decorating the Medici Villa La Petraia (1636-46), [5.4] circulated in Stefano della Bella's etchings (1655), and

¹ The marble portrait of Ferdinando was originally commissioned from court artist Giovanni Bandini as a freestanding sculpture in 1595. It was part of a regional program that sought to place Ducal portraits in the central piazzas of several Tuscan subject cities. Bandini signed and dated the marble in 1599 but died before executing the pedestal. Years later, Ferdinando's son, Duke Cosimo II, commissioned Pietro Tacca to produce a base for the incomplete sculpture, which was finally installed in Livorno's harbor during an inauguration ceremony in May 1617. In 1623-6, Pietro Tacca installed military trophies at the Duke's feet and executed the four monumental bronze slaves who circled the pedestal. The installation of the sculpture was reported in the chronicle of G.D. Pontolimi (1681) in ASF, Libro di Commercio, 4133; See also ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, Fabbriche Medicee, 125, f. 53; Francesco Polese, *I quattro mori: storia e leggenda* (Livorno: Editrice Nuova Fortezza, 1992); Aldo Santini, *Livorno e i quattro mori* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi, 1999); Giorgio Mandalis, *I mori e il granduca: storia di un monumento sconveniente* (Livorno: Belforte, 2009).

praised in seventeenth century travel narratives, *I Quattro Mori* became an enduring symbol of Medici absolutism, the struggle of Christendom against the Ottoman infidels and a testament to the booming slave trade underway in the Tuscan port of Livorno.²

Both in reproduction and *in situ*, the *Quattro Mori* composition emphasized a unidirectional power dynamic wherein Infidel captives were completely subjugated to their Christian prince. However, the rhetorical simplicity of this propaganda belied the complex relationship that really existed between the Tuscan state and its slave populations. In practice, the demands of economic pragmatism and international diplomacy conditioned the treatment of state-owned galley slaves whose social, ethnic, linguistic and religious composition was far more diverse than the epithet of the four “Moors” suggests. Not only did the sculpture’s title conflate the geographic and linguistic distinctions between Arabic-speaking North Africans and Turkish-speaking Anatolian slaves, but it also obscured the presence of Jewish and heretical Christians documented among Livorno’s slave population. Evidence concerning the management of Livorno’s *bagno* offers powerful testimony that enriches and sometimes contradicts the implications within the Medici regime’s official propaganda.

Although galley slavery thrived in ports throughout the Christian Mediterranean, Livorno was the first city in continental Europe to concretize and centralize its

² The *Quattro Mori* sculpture was praised in nearly all travel narratives that mentioned Livorno. These include François Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, Vol. IV (La Haye: 1702-1717), 76; Francesco Scotto, *Itinerario d’Italia: In questa nuova edizione abbellito di rami, accresciuto, ordinato, ed emendato, ove si descrivono tutte le principali città d’Italia, e luoghi celebri, con le loro origini, antichità, e monumenti singolari, che nelle medesime si ammirano* (Roma: Fausto Amidei, 1747), 193. Early modern narratives frequently reiterated apocryphal stories about the symbolism of the sculpture. Some identified the four slaves as men who had attempted mutiny and were depicted in the act of being punished. Other commentators attributed specific names to the slaves and described them sympathetically as the representation of a father and his sons.

participation through the construction of a purpose-built architectural structure known as a slave *bagno*. [Fig. 5.5] This self-contained fortified edifice incorporated military and commercial functions, including dormitories, a penitentiary, galley hospital and bureaucratic offices to manage the slave trade. With no extant architectural models anywhere in continental Europe, the Tuscan duchy borrowed from Ottoman and North African slaving practices when conceiving the structure. Even the re-appropriation of the term *bagno*, which simply means “bath” in Italian, was derived from the Turkish word *banyol*, meaning “royal prison.”³ Although a similar structure was built contemporaneously in Valletta on the Christian island of Malta, Livorno’s *bagno* marked an unprecedented decision to house Muslim slaves in a consolidated structure fully integrated into the European mainland. Seventeenth century visitors, including François Maximilien Misson, acknowledged the novelty of the institution and described Livorno’s *bagno* as a curiosity, which doesn’t exist “in any other place.”⁴ Without commenting on the brutality of the slave trade, Misson urged his readers to visit the “big hospital where

³ M. Garcés identifies the Turkish etymology of *bagno* as “royal prison” but notes that seventeenth-century contemporaries offered alternatives. Covarrubias’s 1611 *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* traced the word *baño* to the Latin word *balneum*, meaning “corral or yard.” Other scholars have suggested that the term was derived from the North African practice of using bathhouses as a site to house slaves. María Antonia Garcés, *Cervantes in Algiers: A Captive’s Tale* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2002), 270.

⁴ “Les forçats ont une maison faite exprès pour eux, un espèce d’hôpital dans lequel ils couchent. Cela ne se pratique en aucun autre lieu.” Maximilien Misson, *Nouveau Voyage d’Italie*, Vol. IV (La Haye: 1702-1717), 75-76; Misson’s comment about the novelty of Livorno’s *bagno* suggests that contemporaries perceived Livorno’s slave institution in a different light than the military Arsenal that Louis XIV constructed in Marseilles to house galley slaves.

the galley slaves sleep and the small mosques, decorated with the 5 or 6 ostrich eggs, that the Turkish slaves have there.”⁵

Despite growing interest in early modern Christian and Muslim encounters, Anglophone scholars have virtually ignored Livorno’s *bagno* and the unique bureaucratic culture that developed within its walls.⁶ Although this lacuna is due in part to Livorno’s physical destruction during the allied bombing of WWII, the oversight is also reflective of what historian Salvatore Bono describes as the “radical historical censoring” of slavery studies.⁷ As Bono articulates, nineteenth and twentieth century scholarship consistently dismissed the enslavement of Early Modern Muslims in Europe in favor of a chronology that began with the galley slaves of antiquity and skipped to early colonialism and African plantation slavery. In more recent decades, Italian, French, and North American scholarship has done much to correct this imbalance, as is evident in numerous

⁵ Ibid., “Il faut voir le grand Hôpital où couchent les Galériens, & les petites Mosquées ornées de 5 ou 6 oeufs d’Autruches, qu’y ont les Esclaves Turcs.”

⁶ Studies on Tuscany’s early modern slave trade and Livorno’s *bagno* include Stephanie Nadalo, “Negotiating Slavery in a Tolerant Frontier: Livorno’s Turkish *Bagno* (1547-1747),” *Mediaevalia* 32 (2011): 275-324; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, “Il bagno delle galere in ‘terra cristiana’,” *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* VIII (2000): 69-94; Franco Angiolini, “Slaves and Slavery in the Early Modern Tuscany (1500-1700),” *Italian History & Culture* 3 (1997): 67-82; Salvatore Bono and E. Ballatori, “Gli schiavi nel bagno di Livorno nel 1747,” *Studi Arabo-Islamici in Onore di Roberto Rubinacci* (1985): 87-106; Vittorio Salvadorini, “Traffici e schiavi fra Livorno e Algeria nella prima decade del Seicento,” *Bollettino Storico Pisano* LI (1982): 67-104; Vittorio Salvadorini, “Traffici con i paesi islamici e schiavi a Livorno nel XVII secolo: problemi e suggestioni,” in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell’età medicea: atti del convegno* (Livorno: U. Bastoni 1978), 206-255; Giuseppe Piombanti, *Guida storica ed artistica della città e dei dintorni di Livorno* (Livorno: Giuseppe Fabreschi, 1903), 339-41; Guillaume Calafat, “L’Institution de la coexistence: Les communautés et leurs droits à Livourne (1590-1630),” in David Paço, Mathilde Monges, and Laurent Tatarenko (eds), *Des religions dans la ville: ressorts et stratégies de coexistence dans l’Europe des XVIème-VIIème siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 83-102.

⁷ “La schiavitù dei musulmani nell’Europa moderna fu perciò oggetto d’una radica censura storica.” Salvatore Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell’Italia moderna: galleotti, vu’ cumprà, domestici* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1999), 4; See also Steven Epstein, *Speaking of Slavery: Color, Ethnicity, and Human Bondage in Italy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

international conferences and two volumes of *Quaderni Storici* dedicated to slavery in Europe and the Mediterranean.⁸

Nonetheless, Muslim captives in early modern Europe constituted what Nabil Matar has labeled a “subaltern class,” not in the Marxist sense, but rather as “a coerced community whose voice has not been heard in modern scholarship and whose accounts have not been investigated.”⁹ Indeed, the contributions of Anglophone scholars remain skewed towards a popular interest in piracy and the graphic horrors of European enslavement in the Barbary Coast.¹⁰ In part, this bias reflects the availability of Early Modern sources, which abound in polemical Christian captivity narratives published in

⁸ The proceedings for the 1999 conference held in Palermo, “Schiavitù nel Mediterraneo di età moderna,” were published in *Quaderni Storici* 107 (2001) and the theme of slavery in the Mediterranean was the focus of *Quaderni Storici* 126 (2007). A 1999 conference on slave ransoming and the Trinitarian religious order resulted in the *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* VIII (2000). See also Salvatore Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Milano: Mondadori, 1997); Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg, “Le baptême des musulmans esclaves à Rome aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles,” *Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome* 101, no. 1 (1989): 9-181; Robert C. Davis, “The Geography of Slaving in the Early Modern Mediterranean 1500-1800,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37, no. 1 (Winter 2007): 57-74; Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Robert C. Davis, *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early-Modern Mediterranean* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009); For the history of gallery slavery in France see André Zysberg, *Les galériens: vies et destins de 60,000 forçats sur les galères de France 1680-1748* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1987); Gillian Lee Weiss (ed.), *From Barbary to France: Processions of Redemption and Early Modern Cultural Identity* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2000); Gillian Weiss, *Captives and Corsairs, France and Slavery in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011).

⁹ Matar clarifies his position in relation to the ideas of Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak of the Subaltern Studies group. Nabil Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes, 1578-1727* (New York: Columbia University Press), 27.

¹⁰ On Europeans enslaved in the Barbary coast and elsewhere, see Stephen Clissold, *The Barbary Slaves* (London: P. Elek, 1977); Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Robert C. Davis, *Holy War and Human Bondage: Tales of Christian-Muslim Slavery in the Early-Modern Mediterranean* (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2009). Anglophone contributions that focus on the Ottoman and African slave populations in Europe include T. F. Earle and K. J. P. Lowe, eds., *Black Africans in Renaissance Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Natalie Rothman, “Becoming Venetian: Conversion and Transformation in the Seventeenth-Century Mediterranean,” *Mediterranean Historical Review* 21, no. 1 (2006): 39-75; Peter A. Mazur, “Combating ‘Mohammedan Indecency’: The Baptism of Muslim Slaves in Spanish Naples, 1563-1667,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 13, no. 1 (2009): 25-48.

European languages. In contrast, Muslim slaves did not typically participate in the literary genre of published captivity narratives, and consequently, “direct testimony from Muslim slaves in Europe ... is extremely rare.”¹¹ However, as Matar’s work aptly demonstrates, Arabic sources reveal how Muslim captives transmitted their experiences through a variety of alternative means. Tales of captivity, redemption, and martyrdom were passed down through the oral tradition of descriptive celebration poetry, and extant archival correspondence demonstrates how Muslim slaves pleaded with their captors, families, and monarchs to facilitate their ransom.¹² Matar’s source translations, which include Arabic letters from the Rabat National Library in Morocco, offer Anglophone scholars unprecedented access to these “subaltern” voices.¹³ However, the archives of Europe, including those of Tuscany, also provide a fresh perspective on the experience of Muslims enslaved in the lands of Christendom, albeit mediated through the biases of European bureaucracies.¹⁴

Building on the pioneering work of Salvatore Bono, Vittorio Salvadorini, Nabil Matar and the growing field of Livorno studies, this chapter examines the experiences and strategies of Muslim slaves and other unfree populations that were captive in the

¹¹ “... rarissime invece le testimonianze dirette di musulmani schiavi in Europa.” Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*, 193.

¹² Matar suggests that the nature of Arabic sources that describe Muslim experiences in early modern Europe is more adapted to a micro historical approach than a macro historical rubric. Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes*, 20-22.

¹³ Matar’s English translations of Arabic captivity letters include “1578: Letters of Rawdan al-Janawy on Muslim Captives,” “1635: Letter about Muslim Captives Converted to Christianity,” “November 1, 1707: Letter from a Captive in France,” and “1798: Letter from a Female Captive in Malta,” *Ibid.*, 141-144, 192-194, 230-232, 241-242, 245-248.

¹⁴ For the most recent scholarship treating European encounters with the Muslim world, see Francesca Trivellato, “Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work,” *The Journal of Modern History* 82, no. 1 (2010): 127-55.

Early Modern port of Livorno. As archival sources demonstrate, Livorno's slave *bagno* was an institution of critical importance to both the personal strategies of individual slaves and the economic and political strategies of the Tuscan Grand Duchy. With a unique bureaucratic culture on the inside and enterprising merchants and confraternities beyond its walls, the *bagno* provided a dynamic nucleus for the competing interests of profit, charity and international diplomacy. As I argue, although the *bagno* was conceived with a fiscal and disciplinary intention, the institution inadvertently offered slaves a space for social cohesion and limited individual enfranchisement.¹⁵ Indeed, the concessions afforded to Muslim slaves in seventeenth century Livorno became referential as a benchmark for the humane management of Muslim slaves in other Italian port cities during the early eighteenth century. By 1714, one loosely translated English edition of François Maximilien Misson's text describes Livorno's *bagno* as not only a curiosity but as evidence of the Tuscan Duchy's compassion:

There is a house built in this town, or a kind of hospital, on purpose for the slaves, in which they lye: contrary to the custom of all other places upon the Mediterranean Sea, where the slaves lye in the galleys. The Grand Duke is a very pious and very gracious Prince; and this is one of the effects of his charity.¹⁶

¹⁵ Here I depart from Matar's contention that class distinctions were erased among the Muslim slaves who were held captive in Europe, "In captivity ... they found themselves behind the same oars or serving the same masters. Captivity leveled them all into helpless subalterns." Ibid, 27.

¹⁶ The English translation of Misson's travel narrative that was published in 1714 differed significantly from the seventeenth-century French-language editions of the text. Whereas Misson's 1691 narrative described Livorno's religious toleration in a celebratory tone, the eighteenth century English edition injected an anti-Semitic tone into the discussion. "He [the Grand Duke] suffers also the Turkish galley-slaves to serve God after their own mode in the three little mosques that he has suffered them to make in this hospital. Those who suffer the Jews, declared blasphemers of the name of IHΣ, ought much more to tolerate the Turks, who reverence him as a great prophet." François Maximilien Misson, *A New Voyage to Italy*, 2 Vols (London: R. Bonwicke, 1714), 268-9.

Without dismissing the endemic brutality of the Mediterranean slave trade, this chapter examines the *bagno*'s centrality in perpetuating Livorno's dual legacy as both a frontier of religious tolerance and a haven for slavery.

Slave Economies and Cultures

Although galley slavery thrived in the Mediterranean since antiquity, its scale and purpose changed dramatically in the mid-sixteenth century during the turbulent struggle between Ottoman and European powers to control the Mediterranean basin. After the consolidated Ottoman navy allied with Maghreb-based privateers, corsair raids terrorized European coastal villages and threatened Christian colonies and outposts throughout the Dalmatian coast, Grecian islands and North Africa.¹⁷ Despite sharing a common 'Infidel' enemy, Europe's leading powers were fraught by internal discord that weakened the Holy League's defensive alliance. Galley slaves were pawns and active participants in these maritime skirmishes, which entangled military and mercantile fleets alike in a self-perpetuating slave economy. Unlike the skilled crews required for Atlantic sailing vessels, the galleys that navigated the unpredictable winds of the Mediterranean Sea required human rowing power; slaves and criminals provided this inexpensive and replaceable labor force.¹⁸ Chained to ship benches, exposed to the elements, and given

¹⁷ As Daniel Goffman explains, despite the Reformation and internal wars of religion, "Christian Europe—particularly in relationship to non-Christian societies—continued to cast its existence in terms of a 'universal' faith. Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9; Roger Crowley, *Empires of the Sea: The Siege of Malta, the Battle of Lepanto, and the Contest for the Center of the World* (New York: Random House, 2008).

¹⁸ The unpredictable waters of the Mediterranean favored oared galleys, which were capable of traveling short distances quickly and with increased maneuverability. However, oared galleys were eventually replaced by armed sailing vessels, which had superior cannon firepower and thus came to dominate the seventeenth century seas. Paul W. Bamford, *Fighting Ships and Prisons; the Mediterranean Galleys of France in the Age of Louis XIV* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1973). John Francis

inadequate provisions, the galley service expected of these men often amounted to a death sentence.

Motivated by economy, empire and ideological conflict, the slave economies of European and Ottoman regimes developed along distinct but interrelated trajectories over the course of the seventeenth century. While Christians lamented their treatment in the slave pens of Istanbul, Algiers, Tunisia and Tripoli, Muslims endured captivity in cities including Messina, Genoa, Venice, Marseilles, Naples, Ancona, Malta and Livorno.¹⁹ Although demographic reports for the Maghreb are often suspiciously exaggerated in Christian narratives, sources suggest that slaves comprised up to twenty or twenty five percent of the total population in Algiers during the sixteenth century.²⁰ Proportionally, the demographic figures for continental Europe were more modest. Although major naval battles such as Lepanto (1571) occasionally flooded slave markets, galley slaves in the European ports of Naples and Venice typically comprised roughly 4% of the total urban population.²¹

In the markets of Catholic Messina or Muslim Algiers, a slave's value depended upon gender, age, physical condition and class. Whereas strong male captives were

Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

¹⁹ Black slaves derived from the Sudan region of Africa were also sold through Maghrebi ports including Tripoli. Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna*.

²⁰ A 1587 report by the Knights of Malta Francesco Landfreducci and Gian Otto Bosio claimed that Algiers contained upwards of 20,000 Christian slaves. The posthumously published narrative, *Topographia e Historia General de Argel* from 1616 repeated a similar figure. However, early modern testimonials often exaggerated the number of Christian slaves present in the Maghreb. Robert C. Davis, "Counting European Slaves," *Past & Present* 172, no. August (2001): 87-124; Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, 116.

²¹ This figure is valid for Malta, Venice, and Naples, with slightly lower figures represented in Genoa. Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*.

allocated to galley service or public labor, women and children were ransomed or employed as domestic servants. Although a fortunate minority of upper class captives gained freedom through self-financed ransom, the impoverished majority was dependent upon the charitable efforts of religious orders and confraternities dedicated to the cause. Barbary Coast slave dealers were particularly attentive to European captives likely to fetch a large ransom, including members of the nobility, military officers and government officials. Writer and soldier Miguel de Cervantes attested to his special treatment when reflecting upon captivity in Algiers from 1575 to 1580.²² Despite multiple foiled escape attempts, Cervantes enjoyed privileges bestowed on other high-profile slaves, such as sanitary housing and the ability to fraternize with other Christians. However, Cervantes's treatment contrasts sharply with common Christians for whom attempted escape was punished with death, torture, or the amputation of noses or ears.²³

Undoubtedly, the slave cultures of European and Ottoman states were influenced by different religious, economic, social and legal customs. The late sixteenth century Italian priest and anti-Machiavellian political thinker, Giovanni Botero, struggled to reconcile Ottoman subjecthood and slavery with his own worldview. In his writings he

²² Cervantes had just concluded a military campaign and was in transit to Spain when Barbary corsairs overtook his vessel. A high price was set for his ransom after the corsairs found papers for his endorsement signed by the commander of the Holy League, Don Juan of Austria. As Garcès notes, Cervantes's social status was not as elevated as the corsairs assumed and his family could not afford the exaggerated price set for his ransom, particularly since they had recently paid the ransom of his older brother. Cervantes reflected on his captivity within the narratives and plays that he wrote upon his return, particularly *El tracto de Argel* (Life in Algiers) from 1581-1583. Garcès, *Cervantes in Algiers*, 81.

²³ Cervantes's friend in captivity, Antonio de Sosa, expounded on the Ottoman torture of Christians in Algiers in the account *Topographia e Historia General de Argel*. Garcès identifies Antonio de Sosa as the author of this narrative, although the work was published posthumously and authorship was attributed to Diego di Haedo. Ibid, 34.

expressed a popularly held perception wherein the entire social structure of the Ottoman Empire was interpreted as a model of despotism with the Sultan as the supreme master:

The Government of the Ottomans is so completely despotic ... that the inhabitants account themselves his slaves, not his subjects; no man is master of himself, or of the house in which he lives, or the fields he tills, except certain families of Constantinople whom Mohamet II has chosen and privileged ...²⁴

However, despite the inflexible judgments of Christian contemporaries, the culture of slavery in the Ottoman Empire comprised a complex social hierarchy in which many slaves were granted a considerable degree of political power and social agency.

Whereas Muslim slaves in Europe were popularly perceived as part of an immutable underclass, slaves in the Ottoman Empire were widely recognized for their potential to join the highest ranks of society. This was particularly evident in the practice of *devşirme* or child-tribute placed upon Christian subject territories in the Balkans. As a periodic ‘tithe,’ the *devşirme* stipulated that a certain quota of young boys would be forcibly removed from their birth homes and sent to the Sultan’s Palace Schools. These children, along with a few elective renegade recruits, matured into the privileged caste of *kuls*, or servants belonging to the Sultan.²⁵ The *devşirme* highlights the fundamental

²⁴ Giovanni Botero, *Le relationi universali di Giovanni Botero Benese* (Venetia: Appresso Giorgio Angelieri, 1599). Passage translated by Lucette Valensi, *The Birth of the Despot: Venice and the Sublime Porte* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 95-96.

²⁵ At the royal palace, Christian *kuls* were converted to Islam, trained in the linguistic and customary practices of the Sultanate elite, and indoctrinated into corps of janissary soldiers and servants. This practice developed in deference to the Islamic law against enslaving co-religionists. Ottomans also employed slaves in plantation-style labor for the cultivation of rice, although this practice was limited due to the Empire’s climatic conditions. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire*, 55, 67-8, 74, 106, 54, 221; Shaun Elizabeth Marmon, *Slavery in the Islamic Middle East* (Princeton: M. Wiener, 1999); I. Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants: the Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

difficulties inherent to translating the cultural concept of ‘slavery.’ Whereas Christians perceived the *devşirme* as a deplorable practice, Ottoman subjects likely viewed the practice as a compulsory and legitimate career path. As Daniel Goffman asserts, *kuls* remained distinct from, but competitive with, the Turko-Islamic aristocracy, and “indeed, by the reign of ... Süleyman, not only had being a *kul* become a virtual prerequisite for advancement, but a new social class emerged around the concept.”²⁶ Although Europe’s military aristocracy never incorporated an elite caste of slaves comparable to Ottoman *kuls*, the active participation of Turkish and Moorish slaves within Livorno’s local economy and international diplomacy urges reconsideration of potential continuities between European and Ottoman slave cultures.²⁷

Galley Slavery in the Tuscan Duchy

Although domestic slaves were traded as a luxury product in Tuscany throughout the Renaissance, it was during the reign of parvenu Duke Cosimo I (r. 1537-1574) that the Medici regime began investing in state-owned galley slaves.²⁸ From as early as 1547, Cosimo vigorously sought slaves to arm his galleys, then under construction in the new Arsenal of Pisa. The Duke sent agents far and wide, charged with specific instructions and thousands of gold *scudi* to purchase slaves by the dozens, and in some cases, by the

²⁶ The Sultan’s *kapikulu* slaves were physically, culturally and religiously estranged from their native kin groups, which amplified their unconditional loyalty to the Sultan. However, some members of the *devşirme* class maintained economic and social ties with their Christian relatives and many of the Sultan’s slaves rose to positions of great importance. Goffman suggests that the *devşirme* linked the interests of the central Ottoman government with those of the Christians in Ottoman subject territories. Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire*, 65.

²⁷ Matar warns against adopting the Braudelian conflation between the Arabic West (comprised of Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya), the Mashriq Levant, and the Anatolian peninsula. He emphasizes that a plurality of cultures and peoples were subsumed under the power of the Ottoman Empire. Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes*, 5.

²⁸ See chapter three for discussion of Livorno’s urban and demographic development.

hundreds. When agents reporting from Malta and Tunis complained of market shortages, Cosimo searched farther afield, sending agents from the Croatian port of Rika to the Atlantic port of Lisbon, where the exasperated Duke finally ordered his representative to travel directly to the Portuguese-controlled West African island of São Tomé to contract for the purchase of 200 slaves.²⁹

Despite the difficulty of Cosimo's initial investment, Tuscany's naval power grew and by 1561 the Tuscan Naval Order of Saint Stephen was actively engaged in fighting Ottoman ships.³⁰ The Order's corsairing efforts in the Mediterranean supplied the Tuscan Duchy with a steady stream of war booty, including money, merchandise, and Turkish and Moorish slaves. Whereas large-scale military endeavors such as the North African Bône expedition contributed roughly 1,500 Maghreb slaves to the Tuscan duchy in 1607, typical prizes resulted in a more modest influx.³¹ Although Pisa remained the ceremonial center for the Knights of St. Stephen, Livorno developed into Tuscany's primary commercial port.

²⁹ On Oct. 16, 1547, Duke Cosimo transferred slaves from Villa Castello to Pisa to begin arming the galleys. In March 1548 he sent agents to Messina with 2,000 *scudi* to purchase slaves. In April 1549 Cosimo transferred 1,000 gold *scudi* to a Spanish military official to purchase slaves in the Croatian port of Fiume (Rijeka) and other Hapsburg regions. ASF, MP, 638, folios 177, 199, and 253 [MAP IDs: 15309, 15321, and 15340]. For more on slaves purchases from Hapsburg and other lands see ASF, MP, 187, folios 6, 16, 30, 35, 38, and 39 [MAP IDs: 7936, 7951, 7957, 7963, 7969, and 7974]. In a letter to his representative in Naples Cosimo described that the procurement of slaves had been difficult and that they must be willing to accept Turks, Moors, and any others who can row the galleys. "Habbiamo inteso quanto voi replicate circa li schiavi, et vi concludiamo che non vogliamo pagali a più di 40 scudi l'uno. Però, potendosene havere a tal prezzo, li piglieremo, et turchi et mori et d'ogni sorte, purché siano assuefacti et habili al remo et alla fatica. Dell'arsione del nostro galleone non habbiamo inteso altro sin qui che quanto ce ne havete scritto voi, et se è vero che sia arso è necessario aver patientia." ASF, MP, 13, folio 184 [MAP ID 21012]. See also ASF, MP, 13, folios 36, 70, and 425 [MAP IDs: 20973, 20978, and 21034].

³⁰ See chapter two and chapter three for discussion of the 1561 founding of the Order of St. Stephen. Franco Angiolini, *I cavalieri e il principe: L'Ordine di Santo Stefano e la società toscana in età moderna* (Firenze: Edifir, 1996).

³¹ For the typical pattern of galley slave acquisitions, see Salvadorini, "Traffici e schiavi fra Livorno e Algeria," 67-104.

In the decades preceding the 1591 and 1593 settlement decrees, Livorno's anomalous quality as a construction zone created a demographic imbalance wherein the number of slaves far exceeded the free resident population.³² However, the port's skewed demographic proportions gradually adjusted following the mass immigration spurred by the 1591 and 1593 *Livornine*. In 1616, Vincenzo Pitti reported 7,509 free residents in Livorno in addition to the 3,000 unfree galley men.³³ Seventy years later, Livorno's total population had grown to the extent that during the galley off-season slaves constituted approximately 4.3% of Livorno's total population, which was comparable to the percentage in other European ports. However, when adjusted to include forced laborers, the total population of unfree galley men housed in Livorno's *bagno* accounted for up to 8.5% of Livorno's total population in the late seventeenth century.³⁴

³² In 1591, the Florentine patrician, Giovanni Rondinelli, estimated that roughly 1,400 or 1,500 slaves and forced laborers were employed in the dredging and construction of Livorno's port. The total population of permanent residents in Livorno at the time was roughly 500. "Descrizione della Nuova Darsena di Livorno, di Giovanni Rondinelli Patrizio Fiorentino," in Giuseppe Gino Guarnieri, *Livorno medicea nel equadro delle sue attrezzature portuali e della funzione economica-marittima (1577-1737)* (Pisa: Editrice Giardini, 1970), 253-257.

³³ Although Pitti stated that 3,000 "slaves" were present in Livorno when the galleys were in port, he likely conflated the Christian forced laborers and the Turkish slaves into a single figure. "In Livorno, per la descrizione fatta quest'anno 1616 sono anime 7,509 et stiavi 3,000 in città, quando vi sono le galere." Vincenzo Pitti, *Descrizione di Pisa fatta da Vincenzo Pitti l'anno 1616*. Pitti's manuscript is housed in the Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze, Manoscritti Magliabechiani, cl. xxv, 366, fol. 240r. An internal report from Livorno's administrators dated March 12, 1618 stated that 3,166 unfree laborers were at work in Livorno, Pisa, and Florence, including 2,172 slaves and 994 *forzati*. See ASF, MP, 2144, unpagged, published in Paolo Castignoli, Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, and Maria Lia Papi (eds), *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città: Studi di storia* (Livorno: Belforte, 2001), 48-49.

³⁴ On May 26, 1684, the supervisor of the Galleys, Matteo Prini, reported 750 slaves, 708 forced laborers, and 170 *bonavoglie* residing in the *bagno*. Livorno's total urban population at the time was roughly 19,000. Thus, *bagno* residents represented roughly 8.5% of the city's total population in 1684. ASF, MP, 2086, folio 497.

Livorno's *Bagno*

Whereas other European regimes housed their galley slaves aboard ships, the Tuscan duchy took the unprecedented measure of financing a slave *bagno* in Livorno as an infrastructural investment to preserve the health of their labor force. The Florentine architect and engineer Giorgio Vasari il Giovane introduced the institutional typology in his architectural treatise entitled *The Ideal City*, circulated in 1596:

One finds that many Important Princes (who have sea vessels and slaves) have a large structure to keep their slaves while the ships are in port; this place is commonly called the *Bagno*, or Sultan's palace, or Slave Prison, wherein they can make ship repairs, weave, and carry out other things which serve for navigation. Among these types of *Bagnos*, one is located in Malta, one in Algiers and other places ...³⁵

[Fig. 5.6] Although Vasari never personally viewed these slave structures, his treatise included a schematic building plan, “[made] according to our fancy (*capriccio*) since we have never actually seen one.”³⁶ [Fig. 5.7] In truth, Vasari's courtyard design closely resembled the centralized slave prison recently financed by the Knights of Malta in their new capital city of Valletta.³⁷

Unlike North African *bagni*, which housed slaves in multiple ad hoc buildings

³⁵ “Si trovano molti Principi grandi (che tengono vascelli in mare, che hanno stiavi) havere un' luogo grande per tenere schiavi mentre che i loro legni sono in porto, quale luogo si chiama comunemente *Bagno*, ò Serraglio, o Prigione di Schiavi, nel quale luogo sono fatti lavorare, tessere, e tutte le altre cose, che poi servono alla navicatione, de quali Bagni ne è uno à Malta, uno Algieri, et in altri luoghi.” Giorgio Vasari il Giovane, *La città ideale* (1596), in Virginia Stefanelli (ed.), *La città ideale: Piante di chiese (palazzi e ville) di Toscana e d'Italia*. (Roma: Officina Ed, 1970), 182-3. Giorgio Vasari il Giovane was the nephew of the famous art historian and author of the *Lives of the Artists*.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ The Knights of Saint John managed several small *bagni* on the islands of Malta and Gozo in addition to a large centrally planned *bagno* that was erected in the heart of Valletta. Godfrey Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo ca. 1000-1812* (San Gwann, Malta: Publishers Enterprises Group, 2002). For a description of Valletta and the Order of St. John see Giacomo Bosio, *Istoria della Sacra Religione et Illustrissima Militia di San Giovanni Gierosolimitano* (Roma: Facciotti, 1602).

segregated by religion, gender and class, Valletta's *bagno* and Vasari's prototype reflect a preference for functional centralization within a single edifice. Although he sterilized the cruel reality of slave labor by describing the *bagno* as a neutral space for work productivity, Vasari's sensitivity to social hierarchies among slave populations was reflected in the building's spatial divisions. As he describes, "[Our plan] is as distinct and as comfortable as possible, with a large room only for the forced laborers, another for the slaves, and similarly for the sick and the elderly we designated a large room as the hospital." Moreover, he adds, "If by chance there were slaves of quality and respect, for them we have designated a distinct space."³⁸

The Medici engineers who designed Livorno's *bagno* were undoubtedly familiar with Vasari's treatise and the Maltese construction, because both predated Livorno's *bagno* by only a few years.³⁹ Livorno's slave prison echoed these predecessors through its internal orientation around a centralized courtyard and its prominent position within the urban fabric of the city.⁴⁰ However, unlike the crusading community and island defenses that separated Malta politically and geographically from continental Europe, the *bagno* of Livorno attested to the Medici's public investment in the slave trade and their willingness to harbor infidels on the European mainland. [Fig. 5.8] As one of the many

³⁸ "Però ne haviamo fatto una pianta d'uno à n'ro capriccio no vi havendo mai visti nessuno, più distinto, e comodo che si poteva, havendo per i Forzati fatto uno stanzone da per se, et un' altro per li schiavi, così per i malati, e vecchi un'altro capacissimo nominato spedale ... e se per avventura vi fussino schiavi di qualità, ò di rispetto, anco per questi haviamo fatto luogo distinto." Vasari, *La Città Ideale*, 182-3.

³⁹ Frattarelli Fischer identifies Claudio Cogorano and Alessandro Pieroni as the likely architects of Livorno's *bagno*. Frattarelli Fischer, "Il bagno delle galere," 80.

⁴⁰ The courtyard orientation of Valletta's and Livorno's *bagni* is analogous to other self-contained spaces of forced enclosure, such as the segregated foreign merchant residences, or *funduqs*, located in the Levant, and the *fondachi* that were established for Germans and Turks in Venice. See chapter two for discussion. Ennio Concina, *Fondaci: architettura, arte, e mercatura tra Levante, Venezia, e Alemagna* (Venezia: Polis Marsilio, 1997).

modifications to Bernardo Buontalenti's original city plan, the large asymmetrical building was nestled within the irregular street pattern of Livorno's medieval settlement. Although the edifice interrupted the rationalized grid of the new city, the site was strategic in its proximity to the harbor and *biscotteria* ovens where food for the galleys and for the city was produced. Moreover, the *bagno* was integral to the civic, economic and religious core of the city, situated directly across the street from the Governor's Palace, and only one block away from the central *piazza* and *Duomo*. In an environment where the threat of slave revolt was palpable and government corruption rampant, the *bagno*'s location allowed governors to monitor its potentially dangerous residents and their administrative guardians.⁴¹

The *bagno* was of paramount importance to military and civil officials because it provided the necessary labor to execute naval operations, produce food provisions, and construct Livorno's public infrastructure. These multi-faceted imperatives were reflected in the institution's management wherein the General Commissioner of the Galleys, the Supervisor of Galley Provisions (*Provveditore delle Galere*), and the Auditor of the Galleys reported directly to the Grand Duke's Secretary of War in Florence and to the Governor in Livorno. These officials coordinated with ship captains to facilitate the seasonal transition between the months of active corsairing, from March to October, and the months of winter dormancy, when slaves and *forzati* galley crews filled the *bagno* to capacity.⁴² In addition, they were responsible for the *bagno*'s daily operations, assisted by

⁴¹ For extensive testimony concerning an internal investigation into the corrupt management practices within the *bagno*, see ASF, MP, 2168, unpagged, dated July 2, 1648.

⁴² "Calcolo della spesa annua delle Galere di S.A.S. ... facendo navigazione ordinarie da marzo all'ottobre." ASF, MP, 2132, unpagged, dated March 8, 1646 ab. Inc. (1647).

the main custodian and numerous scribes, medical doctors, surgeons, apothecaries and guards who attended to internal salubrity and security.

[Fig. 5.9] With military sentinels positioned along the building's perimeter, the large *bagno* complex functioned as a self-contained entity within the port.⁴³ The multi-level building was oriented inwards around a large courtyard with a central cistern for drinking water and a well for washing. Inside, a diverse arrangement of rooms accommodated every aspect of life. The basement contained storage space and the ground floor housed administrative offices, workshops, a tavern and a lower wing of the communal galley dormitories. On the second floor, slaves and forced laborers slept in the upper dormitories and worshiped in one of the many designated religious spaces. The topmost floor of the structure provided accommodations for officials and in the later seventeenth century included cells for the Capuchin religious order. Two long corridors attached to the southwest wall contained a hospital and apothecary and provided access to the *biscotteria* military ovens.

Although access to the *bagno* interior was restricted to most outsiders, the institution was nonetheless a featured stop on the itinerary of numerous diplomatic visitors. Among the foreign dignitaries who visited the institution was the Muslim Lebanese Emir, Fakhr al-Dīn, who spent over four years in Tuscany with his family and

⁴³ The earliest complete floor plans of the *bagno* post-date the Capuchin renovations of 1666. However, partial plans of the building complex exist from earlier periods, such as an ink-wash drawing of the *bagno*'s harbor-side entrance by Francesco Cantagallina in 1644. ASF, MP, 2086, folios 1383 and 1385. Plans from the 1620s confirm that the house of the Commissioner of the Galleys was located off the central *Piazza d'Arme* and had direct access into the *bagno*. ASF, Carte Stroziane, Serie I, 148. See also ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, 148 and ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, 149/1 and 149/2; Dario Matteoni, *Livorno: la città nella storia dell'Italia* (Livorno: Belforte Editore, 1985), 33.

entourage as a guest of the Grand Duke (1613-1618).⁴⁴ The Emir's court historian, Ahmad al-Khalidi, wrote a narrative in Arabic that detailed the many observations that the Lebanese visitors made during the Emir's extended stay. The text included descriptions of the buildings, landscapes and court customs of Florence, Pisa and Livorno. It also offered a rare description of the *bagno* interior that merits being quoted at length:

In Leghorn, there is a prison for captives [*asara*]. It consists of four long, vaulted buildings with a high open space in the middle. In the center, there is a post to which the captive is tied and beaten if he errs. There are rooms on the upper level for guards with entrances different from those of the captives. There are small windows in the floor through which the cells can be seen so that when the captives move, the guards are alerted. The gate to the cells is locked from the side of the guards so that captives can neither open nor shut it. There are captains and wardens who give out passes to the captives to go and attend to the needs of the governor, and in the evening, collect them. There are wooden layers inside the cells. They say that in the cells there are more than three thousand Muslims as well as Christians criminals. They have six galleys, and when they want to sail out but are short [of men], they use some of the captives. All those inside the cells defecate in barrels that have covers. The captives lift the barrels and empty them outside the wall. They said that they are paid for their feces a thousand *piasters* a year. If one of the captives escapes, they take his price from the warden.⁴⁵

Although Ahmad al-Khalidi's description did not compare Livorno's slave *bagno* with the Christian slave pens located in the Ottoman Empire and Barbary Coast, other sources

⁴⁴ In 1613, the Emir of Lebanon, Fakhr al-Dīn, fled to Italy in the hopes of attaining financial and military assistance from European regimes who were willing to help him defend his claim to the independent state of Lebanon in opposition to Ottoman hegemony. Although a military alliance between the Emir and the Tuscan Duchy never came to fruition, the Druze leader had spent over four years as a guest of the Grand Duke (1613-1618). Fakhr al-Dīn resisted Ottoman powers until 1635, when the Ottoman sultan executed him and his family in Istanbul. Kaled El Bibas, *L'Emiro e il Granduca: La vicenda dell'emiro Fakhr al-Dīn II del Libano nel contesto delle relazioni fra la Toscana e l'Oriente* (Firenze: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 2010); Paolo Carali, *Fakhr ad-din II, principe del Libano e la corte di Toscana: 1605-1635* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1936-38).

⁴⁵ Matar, "Description of Pisa and Florence," in *Europe Through Arab Eyes*, 176-177. On the difference between the Arabic terms for prison, *abīd* and *asara*, see, "Moors in Britain Captivity," in Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2005).

draw attention to the Tuscan Duchy's unusual choice to consolidate their galley populations.

Whereas slave pens in Algiers, Tunis and Tripoli segregated Christian, Jewish and Muslim slaves and distinguished the galley laborers from the high profile aristocratic prisoners, Livorno's *bagno* centralized all incarcerated people within a single edifice.⁴⁶ With a capacity of roughly 3,000 residents, the population included publically and privately owned slaves (*schiavi*), Christian criminals condemned to forced labor (*forzati*), political prisoners and indentured servants voluntarily working off financial debts (*bonavoglie*).⁴⁷ The majority of slaves were Turkish and Moorish males, numbering between 400 and 1000 seasonally. However, the population also included Jewish slaves, heretical Germans, Englishmen, Armenians, Schismatic Greeks and even the sporadic presence of women and children.⁴⁸ Occasionally, Catholic Europeans on their way home from captivity in Anatolia or the Barbary Coast became temporary residents of the *bagno*

⁴⁶ Bono identifies six principal *bagni* in Algiers in 1634. Two of these were called the *bagno* del Pascià and the *bagno* del Beylik, known to Christians as the *bagno* of the Holy Trinity and the *bagno* of Saint Catherine, respectively. The number of *bagni* in Algiers was reduced to four in 1675, and by 1830 only three remained. Tunisia had nine *bagni* in 1635, although the port had numerically fewer slaves than Algiers. Tripoli had three principal *bagni*: the *bagno Vecchio* built in 1615 (known to Christians as the *bagno* of the Madonna of the Rosary), the *bagno Nuovo* built in 1640 (*bagno* of Saint Anthony), and the *bagno Nuovissimo* built in 1664 (*bagno* of Saint Michael), which Bono describes as big and "comfortable." Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo*, 198.

⁴⁷ For example, on May 26, 1684, Matteo Prini reported 750 slaves, 708 forced laborers, and 170 'bonavoglie' voluntary laborers residing in the *bagno*. ASF, MP, 2086, f. 497. However, on June 19, 1680, three galleys were out to sea and only 111 slaves, 145 forced laborers, and 3 voluntary laborers remained in the *bagno*. ASF, MP, 2099, folio 23.

⁴⁸ Although female slaves were occasionally housed in the *bagno*, Livorno's slave market exclusively dealt in male merchandise. Consequently, women or children slaves were ransomed, sold in the markets in Messina, or employed as domestic slaves within Livorno. The capture of one of the Sultan's ships during the Bône expedition of 1607 included 38 women and six children, many infected with syphilis. ASF, Governatore ed Auditore, Atti civili, 52, folios 521, 522, and 529. For discussion and partial transcription of these records see Salvadorini, "Traffici e Schiavi fra Livorno e Algeria." One sick and two 'gravely ill' Germans are identified as "Schiavi d'Alemagnia" present in the Hospital of the Galley Crews. ASF, MP, 2086, folio 1318.

while awaiting clearance of ransom payments and the arrival of papers to secure their release. Thus, Livorno's *bagno* fostered a micro-culture of forced pluralistic cohabitation amongst multiple races, religions, languages, class and education levels. Although officials attempted to segregate prisoners according to age, gender and religious creed, the communal dormitories rendered such efforts futile and reports of sexual transgression and physical violence were rampant.⁴⁹

At times, Muslim galley slaves and Christian *forzati* are indistinguishable within administrative documents, which occasionally referred to them collectively as “uomini della catena,” or “men of the chain.” During the active galley season their parallel fates were inescapable, literally chained together on ship benches. Heavy shackles could also be imposed when they were employed in manual labor on land, but this punishment depended upon an individual's age, likelihood to escape, and financial ability to bribe officials.⁵⁰ However, the religious and personal backgrounds of these captives were significantly different as was their relative social and economic agency within the port of Livorno. During the first half of the seventeenth century, the number of *forzati* housed in Livorno's *bagno* tended to be fewer than the number of Turkish slaves. This population was comprised primarily of Christian European men convicted of crimes within the Tuscan Duchy and throughout the Italian states. Although the majority of these

⁴⁹ The rape of young male slaves and *forzati* was prevalent within the *bagno*. As a preventative measure, the guardian in charge of the “young boys” was listed as being 74 years old during the 1640s. ASF, MP, 1814, insert I, folios 52.

⁵⁰ Even Medici-employed soldiers spent time in chains as punishment for allowing slaves and *forzati* to escape. They could avoid this humiliation by paying a fine. ASF, MP, 2086, f. 33.

individuals were criminal deviants convicted of violent rape, murder and pedophilia, the *forzati* population also included political insubordinates and religious non-conformists.⁵¹

Bagno records offer colorful personal vignettes demonstrating how some unfortunate individuals were disproportionately convicted, such as one man convicted for having “robbed a silver plate” while working as a cook on the duke’s galley, or another who was condemned to the galleys for life for “trying to steal a kiss in church.”⁵² Like many Turkish slaves, numerous *forzati* were registered with mutilated faces, their noses and ears previously cut off in punishment for prior infractions. Although some *forzati* were granted clemency for good service, many served a virtually lifelong sentence. This was certainly the case for Giovanni di Benedetto da Chiaveri, who was “put in chains” in 1609 after breaking into the *bagno* in an attempt to steal slaves. Thirty-three years later, Chiaveri remained in the *bagno* and records indicate that in 1642 he was still forced to perform hard labor at the age of roughly 80.⁵³

⁵¹ The *bagno* population included nonviolent offenders such as the English Calvinist and surgeon, William Davies, who spent eight years as a slave of the Grand Duke. In 1614, Davies published his memoirs recounting the experience. Algerina Neri, *Uno schiavo inglese nella Livorno dei Medici* (Pisa: ETS, 2000). In the 1560s and 1570s, the Florentine Lutheran, Aurelio Scetti, served as a galley slave before the construction of the *bagno*. Aurelio Scetti, *The Journal of Aurelio Scetti: A Florentine Galley Slave at Lepanto (1565-1577)*, edited and translated by Luigi Monga (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004). Frattarelli Fisher cites examples of Portuguese *forzati* convicted for being *marranos*. Frattarelli Fischer, “Il bagno delle galere,” 90.

⁵² The crime of stolen kisses was a common offense amongst *forzati*. The sentences for this crime ranged dramatically. Whereas Batista di Tofano Bracci was sentenced to two years of galley service in 1588, in 1641 Piero Dani dal Croce was condemned to galley service for life after stealing a kiss in church. See ASF, MP, 2132, Insert 1, unpagged; ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 7, f. 661.

⁵³ Politically important prisoners were also held in Livorno’s *bagno*. In 1673, the Florentine administration gave *bagno* administrators specific instructions concerning the treatment of three political prisoners from Bologna. These instructions warned them to keep “extraordinary diligence in guarding them ... [so] that they do not have the opportunity to escape it is necessary to put double chains and irons on their feet ... [and] observe them closely when they speak amongst themselves, and frequently review the letters they write or correspondence that they receive from others, and if one of them communicates a plan to escape, give immediate alert, and in the occasion that the galleys are deployed outside, these [men] must always remain in the *bagno*.” [His highness wants that], “siano con straordinaria diligenza guardati e custoditi, che

Despite their markedly sordid histories, many *forzati* were fully integrated into the labor economy and bureaucracy of the *bagno*. Although the majority served as galley oarsmen during the corsair season, *forzati* were also distinguished with the epithets of skilled craftsmen, such as “woodworker of the galleys,” “hay keeper,” and “mattress maker.” Others were granted management positions when the galleys were on land, such as “sacristy keeper in the church of the *bagno*,” “secretary of Galley provisions,” “secretary of the *bagno* entrance,” and “guardian of the *bagno*’s young boys.”⁵⁴ During the galley off-season, ambitious *forzati* could earn money to spend in the *bagno* tavern or to save with the future hope of negotiating their freedom.⁵⁵ Despite vocational opportunities available to *forzati* within the *bagno*, these Christian prisoners of primarily European origin were subject to stricter physical restraints than the Turkish slaves due to their ability to blend with the general populace, which rendered them a higher flight risk.⁵⁶

According to the Florentine Officials of Sicurezza in 1526, slaves should be treated like any other high-risk property that they considered uninsurable, a list that included,

pero VS comettera a chi occorre che si stia con somma avvertenza per assicurarsi che non possino in alcun tempo fuggire, e bisognando li faccia mettere catene doppie e Ferri a piedi come hanno tenuto continuamente qui in un anno e più che sono stati pigioni; Ordini anco che siano ben osservati quelli che andassero a parlare con i medesimi e faccia fare spesso ricerca delle lettere, che scrivessero o che essi ricevessero da altri e quando VS havesse mai alcun sospetto, che costoro tramassero la fuga, ne dia subito avviso, et in occasione che le Galere vadino fuori questi devano restare sempre nel Bagno.” ASF, MP, 2086, f. 116.

⁵⁴ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 1, f. 51-58.

⁵⁵ On April 22, 1679, a *forzato* petitioned for his freedom and offered three slaves in his stead. ASF, MP, 2086, f. 57.

⁵⁶ Military and civic officials pursued escaped slaves and *forzati* within and beyond the Tuscan Duchy. For one example from 1680, see ASF, 2086, f. 17.

“fruit, horses, grain ... cured meats, jewels, and slaves.”⁵⁷ However, unlike spoiled fruit or sick horses, slaves were risky because they were empowered with human agency—particularly in the port of Livorno.⁵⁸ Initially, the management of Livorno’s *bagno* was drafted by military experts in consultation with individuals who had been enslaved in the Christian *bagnos* of Istanbul and other Ottoman lands.⁵⁹ However, as the Commissioner of the Tuscan Galleys, Alessandro Risaliti, warned in 1605, “keeping the galley crews in a *bagno* in Christian [territory] is a new thing,” and the customs practiced in the lands “of the Turk” were “very different” from the management strategies suitable for Livorno.⁶⁰ Consequently, regime officials periodically revised *bagno* policies in response to new economic, security and diplomatic demands.

Despite the regime’s continued efforts to create financial accountability for the custodianship of Livorno’s slaves, such management was not only ineffectual at preventing corruption within the *bagno*, but it also discouraged officials from taking the

⁵⁷ Cited and discussed in relation to ransom insurance by Andrea Addobbati, “Il prezzo della libertà. Appunti di ricerca sulle assicurazioni contro la cattura,” *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* VIII (2000): 95-123.

⁵⁸ Giovanna Fiume has examined the contradictory juridical status of slaves in Europe. Although they were treated legally as objects, they were permitted certain rights of personhood, such as the ability to convert, marry and bear children. Giovanna Fiume, “Premessa,” *Quaderni Storici: Schiavitù e conversioni nel Mediterraneo* 126 (2007): 659-678.

⁵⁹ Medici officials recognized that the management of Livorno’s *bagno* would differ from Ottoman slaving patterns. “Sarà alligato l’ordine che tengano li turchi nel governo del bagno ritratto da più persone stati schiavi, e si fece alla presenza del V.E. Ammiraglio, e Cardinalino essa scrittura, quale è differentissima al servizio di V.A.S. come è differente il Paese di V.A.S. da quel del Turco.” ASF, MP, 1829, f. 306, dated January 26, 1604 (1605 modern).

⁶⁰ “perche il tenere le chiurme al Bagno in cristianita è cosa nuova,” ASF, MP, 1829, folios 308-309, dated December 24, 1604. “S’usa in Constantinopoli, che il Capitano del Bagno tenga cura di tutta la Ciurma, mentre che in esso bagno si trovano et egli ne dispone, come li piace nel mandar fuori a rubare, a fare ogn’altra cosa, che a lui gusti: ma il paese et il molo di quel paese è differentissimo da questo, che la simil Gente vivano di Ruberie ... A tutte le suddette cose è stato presente il Signore Ammiraglio il Cardinalino, Bastian Fabbroni, Giovani Magrini, et altri Pratichi nelli paese del Turco, che è differentissimo da questo sì che qui non si possano usare come in quelli paesi s’usano che sarebbe detrimento grandissimo del Servizio di V.A.S., e la rovina delle ciurme.” ASF, MP, 1829, f. 310, dated January 17, 1604 (1605 modern).

initiative in securing high profile ransoms. Instead, *bagno* officials often sought personal profit through bribery and the black market. Between the Napoleonic occupation of Livorno and the WWII bombing of the city, the complete *bagno* account books were lost. Given the sporadic extant evidence it is unlikely that we will ever know the *bagno*'s quantitative effect on the sale and ransom of slaves. What is discernable, however, is that Livorno's slaves subverted their legal limitations and increasingly became recognized participants in the economy and diplomacy of the port. With time, the accommodation of slaves' physical, economic and religious needs within the *bagno* became essential bargaining chips within the diplomatic intrigues of the regime.

Cultural Mediators in Livorno's Slave Trade

The physical centralization of Muslim slaves within Livorno's *bagno* augmented the port's role within the spiritual economy of Christian ransoms. Since the early thirteenth century, the Trinitarian and Mercedarian orders had worked throughout Europe to organize the ransom of Christian crusaders enslaved in route to the Holy Land. When these endeavors shifted towards the Barbary Coast during the seventeenth century, Livorno became an important node within such international coordinated efforts. Both Livorno's lay confraternity of the Madonna della Natività di Riscatto and the religious order of the Disclazed Trinitarians collected alms to finance Christian ransoms in the Barbary Coast. Livorno served as a launching point for local Trinitarians, whose efforts resulted in the liberation of hundreds of Christian slaves. Charitable group ransoms were celebrated throughout Europe in dramatic public processions, such as one staged in Livorno in 1665 that featured a hundred Christian Europeans processing towards the

Duomo wearing tattered clothing and heavy chains.⁶¹ While the theatrical symbolism of these processions has been interpreted as a ritual cleansing for the redeemed Christians, the collective nature of these events contrasts with the individualistic negotiations that were typical among the Muslim slaves of Livorno's *bagno*.

Although Christian nations were generally more effective than Ottomans in organizing the ransom of co-religionists, they were far less effective at capitalizing on the economic potential of their own high-profile slaves.⁶² The activities in and around Livorno's *bagno* offer a more nuanced assessment of the mediation of private individuals and local institutions within this process. In Tuscany, the manumission of slaves was rarely a unilateral process instigated solely by the grace of the Duke, although this possibility was idealized within the rhetoric of conquest and absolutism. [Fig. 5. 10] For example, Bernardino Poccetti's fresco commemorating the 1607 conquest of the North African port of Bône depicts Duke Ferdinando in the guise of a Roman emperor poised to decide the fate of a newly captured slave. Although charged with narrative drama, this scene from the wall of Palazzo Pitti obscured the financial and political complexity of slave ransom under the elegant veil of classical antiquity. In reality, every stage in the ransoming process was fraught with uncertainty, from establishing initial contact with Ottoman and Barbary Coast officials to finding trustworthy middlemen, negotiating the

⁶¹ Marco Lenci, "Le confraternite del riscatto nella Toscana di età moderna: il caso di Firenze," *Archivio Storico Italiano* II (2009): 271-98; Marco Lenci, "Confraternite di Riscatto in Toscana. I casi di Pisa e San Miniato," *Bollettino Storico Pisano* LXXVI (2007): 135-154; Marco Lenci, "Le Compagnie di Riscatto in Toscana," *Erba d'Arno* 98 (2004): 33-50; Marco Lenci, "Riscatti di Schiavi Christiani dal Maghreb: la Compagnia della SS. Pietà di Lucca (Secoli XVII-XIX)," *Società e Storia* 31 (1986): 53-80.

⁶² Raoudha Guemara, "La libération et le rachat des captifs: Une lecture musulmane," in Gillian Lee Weiss (ed.), *From Barbary to France: Processions of Redemption and Early Modern Cultural Identity* (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 2000), 333-44.

price and conditions, and finally issuing bills of currency exchange. Even after terms were agreed upon, risks persisted, including untrustworthy credit sources, the fickle demands of owners, a slave's last minute conversion, or most commonly, their inopportune death.

Much like the *Quattro Mori* sculpture depicted multiple physiognomies and yet identified the subjects as four "Moors," Medici bureaucrats routinely used the appellation "Turkish" to identify all North African and Anatolian Muslims slaves.⁶³ Despite this generic appellation, *bagno* officials meticulously recorded each individual's name, age, birthplace, identifying features, and the details of his or her capture.⁶⁴ Such information mattered greatly within the economy of slave ransom and the efforts to recapture escapees. The price of freedom in Livorno varied from less than 40 *scudi* for old, blind, or decrepit galley slaves to over 4,000 *scudi* for rich merchants and politically important captives. Although individual slaves did pen supplications directly to the Duke advertising their financial solvency or pitiful old age, such information was also circulated amongst ship captains and *bagno* guards, who occasionally became advocates for slaves in exchange for a commission fee. However, such a strategy was risky because guards and officials were financially accountable to the Grand Duke if a slave escaped or

⁶³ ASF, MP, 2086 f. 497. A similar conflation is noted among the slaves of Malta. Wettinger, *Slavery in the Islands of Malta and Gozo*, 36-37.

⁶⁴ Slaves were identified either by their specific city of origin, such as Bursa, Susa, Rhodes, Algiers, Tripoli, Bône, Bizerte, and Fez, or by more general geographic identifiers such as "the Black Sea" or "Anatolia." ASF, MP, 2086. Some records specify the slaves' former professions and wealth. See University of Pennsylvania Rare Books Library, Mss. Coll. 771, Folders 1-8.

was released without approval, and this policy created an atmosphere of anxiety concerning manumissions.⁶⁵

Even with patience and careful diplomacy ransoming negotiations often proved unsuccessful. In 1658, Ali Bey of Cairo wrote to the Grand Duke Ferdinando II lamenting that over six years had passed since he first dispatched his Christian slave, Sardon Augustini, to the Medici court. The slave Augustini had been given over three thousand *reali* to offer to exchange for Muslim captives. However, after two years passed without news, the Bey sent another slave named Nicola Francese with gifts for the Medici court.⁶⁶ As the Bey lamented, both envoys escaped with the entrusted treasures, and he entreated the Duke to investigate the matter. It is likely that Sardon Augustini and Nicola Francese were among the numerous escaped Christian slaves who arrived in Livorno without papers and were subsequently processed by *bagno* officials. While the diplomacy of slave ransoming was a challenge, the Tuscan Duchy also had trouble selling their slaves to other Christian monarchs. In April of 1610, one Medici official complained to the Secretary of War that some slaves captured during the conquest of Bône were essentially “useless” and unsellable:

Regarding the sale of those other useless male and female slaves unworthy of ransom, it has been over two years that we have tried to send them to Spain or elsewhere, but it still hasn't been executed.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ For discussion concerning the rules governing the *bagno* in December 1604 and January 1605, see ASF, MP, 1829, folios 306-310.

⁶⁶ ASF, MP, 1082, f. 23 [MAP ID 17743].

⁶⁷ “Quanto a vendita di quell'altra gente inutile, e non da taglia, stiavi maschi e femmine, sono ormai due anni che si tratta di mandarne a Spagna o altrove, e non è venuto fatto...” ASF, MP, 1305, f. 52 and 68 [MAP IDs 15380 and 15360].

Economic Agency Within and Beyond the *Bagno*

Slaves, *forzati*, and *bonavoglie* alike were required to pay the Grand Duke for their maintenance in the *bagno*, and this regulation encouraged them to pursue legal and illegal economic opportunities.⁶⁸ Although slave commerce was initially permitted exclusively within the cortile of the *bagno*, edicts issued in 1616 and 1633 make reference to, and outlaw, the practice of slaves selling comestibles near the harbor.⁶⁹ As evident in the persistent re-issuing of these rules, the bribing of officials to leave the *bagno* and work in the port during the day was common practice during the earliest decades of managing the *bagno*. By the mid-seventeenth century, this practice had become incorporated into the institution's official operating policies. Whereas *forzati* were typically permitted to leave the *bagno* only under the watchful eye of armed guards who supervised their labor, slaves and *bonavoglie* enjoyed a remarkable degree of physical freedom during the galley off-season. Due to the constant military surveillance of Livorno's harbor and city gates, the slaves' physical attributes, such as their racial profile, clothing and shaved head, were perceived as adequate in preventing their escape.⁷⁰ Thus, upon arriving in the *bagno* burdened by heavy chains, following a fifteen-day trial period, slaves with a record of good behavior could pay a modest sum to leave

⁶⁸ A *forzato*'s maintenance fee was calculated according to his presumed flight risk. ASF, MP, 2086, f. 117; Castignoli, Frattarelli Fischer, and Lia Papi, *Livorno: dagli archivi alla città*, 41.

⁶⁹ The initial restriction of slave commerce to the *bagno* interior recalls the rules governing the courtyards of Venice's mercantile *fondacos*. A retrospective memorial composed by Ignazio Fazzi in 1773 reports that the exterior *bagno botteghe* were rented by slaves for the price of one *pezza* per month. ASL, Governatore, Lettere Civile, 13, folios 118-128, dated March 7, 1773. Report published in its entirety with accompanying correspondence by Salvadorini, "Traffici con i paesi islamici," 247-55.

⁷⁰ This rationale led officials to detain suspicious foreigners and vagabonds in the *bagno* until they produced documentation that proved their free status. See the Ferdinando Bardi's report from June 2, 1662, ASF, Serristori Famiglia, 435, unpagged.

during the day and were required to return to incarceration in the evening.⁷¹ The *bagno* custodian had discretionary power over this privilege; although he was frequently the beneficiary of bribes, he was also required to contribute sixty *scudi* to the *bagno* coffers in the event that a slave escaped.⁷²

Given the permeability of the *bagno* walls, slaves in Livorno were frequently employed as barbers or vendors of water, wine, tobacco and used clothing within and near the *bagno*. This practice was so ubiquitous that prohibitions against slave commerce relaxed and by 1648 the *bagno* population had begun selecting a “Mercantile Slave Boss” to represent their collective economic interests.⁷³ Given the demographic diversity amongst the slave population, the position of Mercantile Slave Boss required a highly literate and polyglot individual who could register collective concerns and effectively report them to Government officials.⁷⁴ By the late seventeenth century, slaves could register contracts with the *bagno* secretary, and pay one *pezza* a month to rent shop space along the exterior wall of the *bagno*.⁷⁵ Although *bagno* officials tried to curb abuses resulting from slaves’ mobility and financial enfranchisement, records show that they

⁷¹ In 1773, Ignazio Fazzi recalled that during the era of the “Old Galleys” the price for a slave to leave the *bagno* during the day was a “*mezzo paolo*” per week. Salvadorini, “Traffici con i paesi islamici,” 249.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Frattarelli Fischer has traced the practice of selecting a Mercantile Slave Boss to the first half of the seventeenth century. When the slave Solimano Zoare died in the *bagno* in 1648, his will named heirs for his accumulated merchandise and noted that he had served as the Mercantile Slave Boss. Frattarelli Fischer, “Il bagno delle galere.”

⁷⁴ Not all trades were legalized for slaves. A band from May 24, 1633 prohibited private and state-owned slaves from selling fried foods, meat, or white bread at the port. ASL, Asta Pubblica, 1; published by Salvadorini, “Traffici con i paesi islamici,” 227. For documents relevant to the Mercantile Slave Boss, see ASF, MP, 2086, f. 89-91.

⁷⁵ A 1698 band stipulated that Livorno’s free residents had to register business transactions with slaves at the office of the Secretary of the *bagno* within three days of transacting contracts, loans and payments. “Bando a Stampa, del 1698, sui contratti degli schiavi e ciurme delle Galere.” ASL, Asta Pubblica, 1, published by Salvadorini, “Traffici con i paesi islamici,” 246.

frequently bribed guardsmen to avoid galley service or hard labor. Moreover, their access to currency contributed to the *bagno*'s black market of wigs and clothing to facilitate escape.⁷⁶ Equally problematic were concerns that this practice facilitated illicit social and sexual relations between Muslims and Christians.⁷⁷ As early as 1644, the English writer John Evelyn described the unruly behavior of slaves and drunkards in Livorno's harbor:

Here, especially in this *piazza*, is such a concourse of slaves, Turks, Moors, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, other selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chained. Here was a tent, where any idle fellow might stake his liberty against a few crowns, at dice, or other hazard: and, if he lost, he was immediately chained and led away to the galleys, where he was to serve a term of years, but from whence they seldom returned; many sottish persons, in a drunken bravado, would try their fortune in this way.⁷⁸

Although Evelyn's account of gambling for galley conscription is likely tinged with exaggeration, his narrative highlights how slaves permeated the *bagno* walls and participated in economic and social life of the port.

Religious Persuasions

While captains, guards and medical doctors monitored the physical well being of the slaves and *forzati*, other individuals supervised their spiritual health. Although the handsomely decorated main Church of the *bagno* was tended by the secular Archconfraternity of the Purification, growing concern over improper catechism, false

⁷⁶ Frattarelli Fischer, "Il bagno delle galere," 83.

⁷⁷ The eleventh clause of the 1593 *Livornina* specified that Jews who had carnal relations with Muslims and Christians could be tried in front of their own judge and that each offense would result in an escalating series of fines and punishments.

⁷⁸ John Evelyn, *Diary and Correspondence of John Evelyn, F.R.S., Edited from the original Mss. at Wotton*, Vol. 1, (London: Henry Colburn Publisher, 1850), 90-91. See also, Mario Curreli, "Scrittori inglesi a Livorno nel Seicento," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi*, Vol. XI (2004): 53-82.

conversion and transgressive behavior amongst *forzati* led to the installation of the Capuchin religious order within the structure in 1666.⁷⁹ Capuchin reforms in the late seventeenth century sought to physically separate Christians and Muslims while instilling a sense of discipline and internal moral surveillance.⁸⁰ Through efforts spearheaded by Father Ginepro da Barga, renovations to the building separated the corridors of the Christian and Muslim galley hospitals and amplified the building's main chapel. Although the religious practices of non-Catholics were technically beyond the Capuchins' purview, Father Ginepro's charismatic leadership and regular communication with Livorno's Governor and *bagno* officials made him an ideal intercessor for slaves who sought conversion and *forzati* who hoped to purchase their freedom.⁸¹

The conversion of state-owned slaves was treated with a consistent, although frequently questioned policy in Livorno, which considered conversion to Christianity an insufficient cause for legal manumission. Livorno's practice reflected ongoing debate throughout Catholic territories, which pitted the economic advantages of galley slavery against the evangelical efforts of the papacy. In 1543, Pope Paul II established the Casa dei Catecumeni in Rome to encourage conversion and ensure the proper catechism of all neophytes. Although this institution is more commonly recognized as an institution for the conversion of Jews, Wipertus Rudt de Collenberg has demonstrated that during the

⁷⁹ The Capuchins were present in Livorno since 1599, when a monastery was constructed to house twelve friars. The convent was built beyond the city walls but in such a manner that the monks, "did not need to fear the raids of the Turks." "in maniera che non hanno da temere de Turchi." ASF, MP, 1829, f. 221.

⁸⁰ Francesca Cavallo, "La fama di santità di un cappuccino nella Livorno di fine Seicento: padre Ginepro da Barga (1630-1709)," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* X (2002): 31-57.

⁸¹ Medici officials asked Father Ginepro to investigate the spiritual orthodoxy of slaves who requested to be transferred from the Muslim galley quarters to reside among the Christian *forzati*. ASF, MP, 2086, f. 48, 57 and 62.

mid-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Muslims constituted roughly 42% of the institution's residents, and this amounted to the conversion of roughly a thousand Muslim slaves amongst the 1,075 total Muslims listed in the baptismal records.⁸² Although Pope Paul III confirmed the legitimacy of slavery within the Papal States in 1548, a privilege issued the following year offered freedom and Roman citizenship to any baptized slave who registered with the municipal officials of the Capitoline Hill. This papal incentive, reconfirmed in 1566 by Pope Pius V, caused great confusion for slave owners and secular leaders. Not only did papal policy run contrary to the economic interests of the Pontifical Navy and other religious naval orders, but the incentive also encouraged slave escapes. Although secular leaders were not obliged to adopt the papal incentive, confusion over this policy forced regimes to reassess and reaffirm their own practices concerning conversion and manumission.

In Livorno, the freedom of able-bodied male slaves remained more directly linked to ransom payment and diplomatic maneuvering than to an individual's religious conviction. The supplication of one Turkish slave described how he abjured his Muslim faith and "rejected Mohammad's law" in the *bagno* church in November of 1629. After serving seventeen years as a Christian forced laborer he was still pleading for his release.⁸³ Although manumission was rarely granted to galley slaves on conversion alone, apostasy afforded them other privileges, such the ability to legally marry and baptize their

⁸² Rudt de Collenberg, "Le baptême des musulmanes esclaves à Rome," 25.

⁸³ ASF, MP, 1814, Insert 3, f. 893.

children.⁸⁴ In contrast, female slaves who converted were much more likely to trade captivity in the *bagno* for custody in the convent.⁸⁵ European renegades who reconciled with Catholicism presented a particularly tricky problem, because although they were protected by the Medici regime in Livorno, they faced scrutiny by the Inquisition in Pisa and elsewhere.

Although conversion among Livorno's state owned Muslim slaves was discouraged and treated with great suspicion, the regime actively encouraged and celebrated conversion among privately owned Muslim or Jewish slaves.⁸⁶ As promised in the *Livornine* privileges, a Casa dei Catecumeni was never established in the city of Livorno. Nonetheless, evangelical energies persisted through secular confraternities, pious individuals, and the Augustinian, Capuchin, Barnabite, Trinitarian, Dominican and Jesuit religious orders. Through the initiative of these organizations, Jewish and Muslim apostates received religious instruction in Livorno and could be sponsored for formal catechism, either in the Casa dei Catecumeni in Rome, or after 1636, in the Casa dei

⁸⁴ In April of 1681, the state-owned slave Assiano Stiavo (renamed Lorenzo) was baptized along with his wife and female child. The ceremony was celebrated with great pomp in Livorno and was attended by galley captains, knights, and the ladies of Livorno. ASF, MP, 2099, f. 162; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Percorsi di conversione di ebrei nella Livorno di fine Seicento," *Nuovi Studi Livornesi* XIII (2006): 139-171.

⁸⁵ In 1610, three female slaves converted to Christianity and went to live in the convent of St. Francis. ASF, MP, 131, f. 290. By the later seventeenth century, the female hospital of St. Barbara played an active role in facilitating female slave conversions. See ASF, MP, 2287, unpagged December 17, 1708. For the inquisitorial investigation of a female *morisca* slave who insisted upon her Christianity, see Lucia Frattarelli Fischer, "Ritratti di donne dai processi dell'Inquisizione," in Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Lucia Vaccari Olimpia (eds), *Sul filo della scrittura: fonti e temi per la storia delle donne a Livorno* (Livorno: Associazione Livornese di Storia, 2005), 350-54.

⁸⁶ For ecclesiastical records examining unorthodox practices within the *bagno*, Frattarelli Fischer cites the Archivio Arcivescovile di Pisa, 1614-18, folios 63-76, Frattarelli Fischer, "Il bagno delle galere," 86; see also Cesare Santus, "Il "turco" e l'inquisitore. Schiavi musulmani e processi per magia nel Bagno di Livorno," *Società e Storia* 133 (2011): 449-484; Bartolomé Bennassar, *I cristiani di Allah: la straordinaria epopea dei convertiti all'islamismo nei sec. 16. e 17* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1991), 483.

Catecumeni in Florence.⁸⁷ The evangelical impetus was particularly potent during the anti-Semitic climate of Duke Cosimo III's reign (r.1670-1723). In 1680, the regime invited Pisa's ecclesiastical Curate to interrogate all Muslim slaves owned by Jews in Livorno. Working in conjunction with the Dominican missionary to the Armenian nation, Curate Biscioni individually interviewed each of the ninety-five Jewish-owned Turkish slaves. As a frustrated government bureaucrat reported, among all the slaves interviewed, all except one uniformly responded, "I was born a Turk and I want to die a Turk," suggesting to the Curate that the Jews had conspired to keep their slaves quiet.⁸⁸

Conversion was certainly not advantageous to Jewish slaves in the *bagno* who could benefit from the intervention of strong local advocates. In 1606, the Jewish confraternity *Hevrat Pidion Shevuim* was founded in Livorno for the purpose of local charity, which included the ransom of enslaved co-religionists.⁸⁹ In order to finance these endeavors, the leaders of the Sephardic community, officials known as the Massari, implemented a self-imposed tax on all merchandise traded by Jewish merchants in Livorno. At the price of four *soldi* for every 100 *pezzi*, the tax was a modest sum. Nonetheless, some local and foreign Jews protested, claiming that they would lose

⁸⁷ Jewish subjects of the Tuscan duchy were sent to the Casa dei Catecumeni in Florence, whereas foreign Jews and Muslims were sent to the Casa dei Catecumeni in Rome. Fischer, "Percorsi di conversione di ebrei"; Rudt de Collenberg, "Le baptême des musulmanes esclaves à Rome."

⁸⁸ "L'Infedeli che servono questi Ebrei che furono esaminati dal Curato Biscioni ascendono al numero di 95, et alli interrogazioni anno risposto uniformemente ciascheduno da persone, 'Star nato Turco, voler morir turco.' Onde vien creduto, che siano stati istruiti, et che per ciò poco possa sperarsi la loro conversione." ASF, MP, 2328a, unpagged, dated July 19, 1686; see also Ibid., dated July 8, 1686 and July 10, 1686.

⁸⁹ Giuseppe Laras, "La "Compagnia" per il riscatto degli schiavi a Livorno," *Rassegna Mensile di' Israel* XXXVIII (1972): 86-130; Renzo Toaff, "La "cassa" per il riscatto degli schiavi ebrei" del granduca nella Livorno del Seicento," *Studi Livornesi* I (1986): 43-63.

business to Christian merchants unaffected by the tax. Ultimately, the Massari persuaded the regime that Livorno's *Hevrat Pidion Shevuim* tax was lower than those implemented by the Jewish communities of Istanbul and Venice; not only did the Grand Duke uphold the Massari's ruling, and but he also approved a similar tax for Pisa.

Although the mercantile clout of Livorno's Sephardic community empowered the Massari to intervene on behalf of Jews in the *bagno*, they could not protect Jewish slaves indiscriminately. When the Massari decried the harassment of female Jewish slaves in the *bagno*, their concerns led to alterations in the housing of these unfortunate women. However, after three Jewish slaves escaped from their guardian's watch and sought asylum by hiding in the synagogue in May of 1662, an investigation ensued that threatened to compromise their favorable relationship with the regime. Three days after the slaves' escape, the guard responsible for the incident accused the Jewish community of conspiring as accomplices. He testified that during the critical moment when the slaves eluded his control, the door of the synagogue had been forcefully "shut in his face." The Jewish community denied any foul play and insisted on their innocence, citing the improbability that such an incident could have happened as described. As they reasoned, it was suspicious that the guard did not issue an alarm following the alleged struggle, particularly on a Saturday afternoon when the busy street in front of the synagogue "would have been easily within earshot of many Christians." Although officials considered criminal or civil proceedings, the Secretary of War stressed that it was of paramount importance to solve the crisis in a friendly manner. Ultimately, both sides

reached a compromise after the Jewish community offered financial remuneration to encourage the regime to drop formal charges.⁹⁰

Although the religious toleration outlined in the *Livornine* did not officially extend to Muslims, the regime dissuaded the conversion of their galley slaves by permitting them rights to religious expression within the *bagno* and the use of land for an unofficial Turkish cemetery. Moreover, each of the galley crews within the *bagno* designated a leader who was recognized by the regime with the title of *coggia*, based on the Turkish term *hodja*, meaning “teacher, religious leader, preceptor or master.” Exempt from physical labor and distinguished by the right to wear a turban, *coggias* were responsible for leading Muslim religious worship and represented the official voice of the slaves. Salvatore Bono has demonstrated that *coggias* were also selected amongst the Muslim slave populations of Napoli, Civitavecchia, and elsewhere. In Livorno’s *bagno*, however, the *coggias* were privileged by the designation of several spaces explicitly reserved for Muslim worship.⁹¹

Just as Christian chapels and religious orders serviced *bagni* throughout the Maghreb, Livorno’s Muslim slaves were granted the use of what Medici bureaucrats referred to obliquely as “churches of the Mohammedan law.” François Maximilien

⁹⁰ “... gli ebrei in loro giustificazione le dirò che in primo luogo si nega da loro la pretesa violenza in prova di che adducono, che se la guardia che accompagno alla Sinagoga i tre schiavi sono stata rispinta per forza con serrarseli la porta in faccia come si averisce, non è vericivile che la detta guardia non ne havere subito levato il rumore, che in una strada popolata et nei giorno il sabato sarebbe stato sentita da molti ancora cristiani.” The incident was described by the Secretary of War, Ferdinando Bardi, to Livorno’s Governor, Antonio Serristori, on May 5, 1662. ASF, Serristori Famiglia, 435, unpagged; see also the letters dated May 16, 1662, and June 3, 1662.

⁹¹ A mosque was made available to Turkish slaves inside the Arsenal of late seventeenth-century Marseilles. By the early eighteenth century, slaves in Naples, Civitavecchia and other Italian ports petitioned for mosques and cemeteries with varying levels of success. Francesca Trivellato, *Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 82; Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna*, 240-252.

Misson's testimony from 1688 nominated these spaces more explicitly as *mosquées*, a terminology echoed in the *moschea* labels visible in the earliest known *bagno* floor plan from the late seventeenth century.⁹² Livorno's mosques were described most clearly in the testimony of the Sicilian Capuchin friar, Father Luca da Caltanissetta. In December of 1689, Father Luca stopped in Livorno en route to a missionary trip in Congo.⁹³ In the account of his visit to the *bagno*, he describes the Christian chapels and Muslim mosques (*moscova*). His sympathetic description of Muslim worship suggests his recognition of the reciprocal religious rights between Christian and Islamic slave populations:

There I also saw the *bagno*, as it is called, which is a place for the people of the granducal galleys where the Capuchins assist in the sacred sacraments for those poor people with their beautiful and clean chapels that inspire devotion. The aforementioned Capuchin fathers on this occasion also showed me the Mosque of the Turks, which is a small house that the Turks do not enter unless with bare feet well cleaned of all filth. [Inside] there is a pulpit with two stairs, their book of the Koran and other books of their law; in a part there is a hooded cloak, in another a turban and other things adored by them, and here they exercise the Mahommedan law. This mosque is permitted to them because the Turks also allow Christians to have secret churches in their *bagnos*.⁹⁴

⁹² ASF, Scrittoio delle Fortezze e Fabbriche, 148 A, B, C, D, E, F, G. Fischer dates this floor plan to the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Frattarelli Fischer, "Il bagno delle galere," 80.

⁹³ Padre Luca's manuscript was composed nearly a decade after his visit based on notes that he made during his travels. Although it was published posthumously, his narrative was written in response to the Propaganda Fide's encouragement for missionaries to write reports and increase public interest in missionary activity. Thus, his remarks should be read with the understanding that he had a public audience in mind. Although scholars have focused on Luca da Caltanissetta's observations on the Kingdom of Congo from 1690-1701, the manuscript also includes a notable description of the Jewish synagogue of Livorno and what he considered the curiosities of Sephardic Jewish worship. Original manuscript housed in the Biblioteca Comunale "Luciano Scarabelli" di Caltanissetta, ms. 35, 105 ff. "Relatione del Viaggio e Missione fatto per me Fra Luca da Caltanissetta," published in Romain Rainero, *Il Congo agli inizi del Settecento nella relazione di p. Luca da Caltanissetta* (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1972), 116-118.

⁹⁴ "Quivi vidde anche il bagno, così domandato, qual è un luogo della gente della galere del granduque, ove assistono i capuccini per amministrare i Santi Sacramenti a quei poverelli, con le sue cappelle bellissime e pulitissime quali eccitano a devotione. I suddetti Padri capuccini con tal occasione mi fecero vedere la Moscova dei Turchi quale è una piccola casa, nella quale i Turchi non entrano se non a piedi scalzi e ben limpi d'ogni sporchezza, in cui vi è una cattedra con due scale, il libro del suo Alcorano ed altri libri della sua legge, in una parte vi sta indorata una cappa, in un'altra un trobante et altre coselle quali sono da loro adorati e quivi facciono i loro esercittii della loro maumettana legge. Questa muscova gli si permette

Father Luca provides rare testimony describing the slaves' strict ritual cleansing and the physical interior of the *bagno*'s main mosque, adorned with a *minbar* pulpit, Koran, and other unidentified texts. Although the specific nature of Muslim worship within the *bagno* presently eludes detailed description, Father Luca's and François Maximilien Misson's accounts raise important questions concerning the degree of access that non-slaves, either free Muslims or visiting Christians, had to viewing slaves' worship in the *bagno*.⁹⁵

Slave Diplomacy

Livorno's Sephardic Jewish merchants mediated the bulk of the port's Levantine trade and prominent Armenian residents could be called upon to assist the regime in receiving Ottoman envoys. Despite the presence of these Levantine intermediaries, the reciprocal nature of the slave trade increased the need for direct communication between Livorno's *bagno* and Barbary Coast officials. In the absence of formal diplomatic ties with the Ottoman Empire, the Tuscan regime depended upon educated slaves to serve as translators and intermediaries in order to cultivate relationships with Ottoman officials in Tripoli and Algiers.⁹⁶ As such, Livorno's Mercantile Slave Boss was analogous to a national consul and the *coggias* served in an almost ambassadorial capacity. Although these slave dignitaries typically sought to reconcile the interests of officials and their

perchè anche i turchi permettono a Christiani nei loro bagno il fare le loro segrete chiese." Ibid, 117; see discussion in Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna*, 243.

⁹⁵ Further evidence concerning the nature of Muslim worship in Livorno is likely available in Inquisition records.

⁹⁶ Livorno was not the only port bureaucracy to lack official state translators. The Dey of Algiers expressed concern regarding the accuracy of Arabic translations read by the French officials of Toulon, whose official translator was a young boy. Matar, *Europe Through Arab Eyes*, 28.

slave constituency, at times their actions proved threatening to the diplomatic interests of the regime.⁹⁷

As Salvatore Bono has observed, Livorno's formal recognition of an economic and spiritual hierarchy amongst *bagno* slaves served to facilitate ransom negotiations and increased the regime's accountability over their slaves' potentially incendiary actions. For example, the Mercantile Slave Boss was empowered with the official 'seal' necessary to pen letters to the Ottoman Empire and Barbary coast. Although the Mercantile Boss was expected to help slaves contact patrons and family members to secure ransom payments, he was also held responsible for more politically sensitive communications that leaked out of the *bagno*. From as early as 1668, Muslim slaves in Civitavecchia and other Italian ports began writing incendiary letters to Barbary Coast and Ottoman officials complaining of their inhumane treatment. When the slaves of Livorno penned similar complaints in 1680, a heated exchange between the *bagno*'s secular and religious authorities ensued in an attempt to quell the resulting diplomatic crisis.⁹⁸

On August 30, 1680, the Supervisor of Galley Provisions, Matteo Prini, reported to the Secretary of War that incendiary letters written by slaves in Livorno had reached the *Bey* of Tunis. After hearing that Muslim *bagno* slaves were being physically abused, the *Bey* issued a stern warning that reciprocal tortures would befall Christians enslaved in the North African port.⁹⁹ The frenzy of internal correspondence that ensued reveals how the Tuscan duchy relied upon their slave dignitaries to quell what they considered

⁹⁷ Bono, *Schiavi musulmani nell'Italia moderna*, 222-32.

⁹⁸ Bono offers an account of this episode based on papal archival documents. *Ibid.*, 222-40.

⁹⁹ ASF, MP, 2086, f. 89.

unsubstantiated rumors. Acting on orders from the Secretary of War, Supervisor Prini called on the Capuchin Father Ginepro to interview the *coggias* concerning the affair. In the Supervisor's report to the Secretary of War he recounted:

I called the Muslim preachers [*coggias*] that serve as assistants here and collectively they were angry regarding the affair. In the presence of Father Ginepro and myself they said that they had not written these letters nor did they know could have ... I strictly told them that they will be treated more harshly than are our Christians in the Barbary Coast if they do not stop ... particularly considering the good liberty that the Grand Duke grants ... in allowing them to trade in Livorno ... which they don't enjoy in their own country.¹⁰⁰

Five days later, the *bagno*'s slave dignitaries jointly issued a formal declaration that attested to their fair treatment and outlined the religious and economic privileges enjoyed by all state-owned Muslim slaves in the port of Livorno.

This detailed report addressed to the ministers of the Customs House in Tunis was written in Ottoman Turkish with a translated Italian copy dated September 4, 1680.¹⁰¹ Ali Zereze, the Mercantile Slave Boss, and the four *coggias*, Macametto, Acametto, Mustafà and Ussaino signed the lengthy description. First, they testified to the material conditions within the *bagno*, both during the slaves' working life, and in the event of their death:

¹⁰⁰ "Tocante al particolare che Vostra Signoria Illustrissima scrive per le relazione che possa essere state scritte da questi schiavi Turchi a lor paesi di essere qui loro mal trattati e che persino essere cause che quei Barberi strappazzino la i nostri Crestiani e particolarmente i Religiosi ... ho chiamato a me questi loro pappasi che qua sono assistenti et erano matoli tutti in tale affare et alla presenza del Padre Fra Ginepro et anco poi da per me i quali dicendomi che non anno scritto ne tan poco sapere che scriva ne che possa havere fatto questo passaggio gli ho rapresentato che il Provveditore Serenissimo ne sia molto incolera e che se non muteranno stile le gli caminera con rigore di piu di quello che viene fatto ai nostri Cristiani in Barberia, pero stieno avvertiti se anno loro di Godere la Buona liberta che gli da S.A.S. in tanto nel Governo quando essere rispettati e potere trafficare per Livorno che tanto non godono a lor paese..." ASF, MP, 2086, f. 89 verso.

¹⁰¹ ASF, MP, 2086, 98-99. The slaves' report from September 4, 1680 is published in Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi: Inedite o rare* (Livorno: U. Bastogi Editore, 1888), 117-18.

Here every year [the slaves] are given new clothing, three portions of bread every day with soup, and if a slave falls ill in the hospital, that same morning he is put into bed, with white sheets ... and every morning the doctor visits... and from the apothecary of the Grand Duke they are given medication as needed. When, in the event that a slave dies, our *coggia* immediately goes to visit him, and following our custom, they bury him in the field with all diligence.¹⁰²

Next, they described the slaves' economic options in the port, including the workshops inside the *bagno* cortile, the "new *botteghe* outside the *bagno*," and the "many shacks near the harbor." They declared that slaves could be employed as barbers, dockworkers and merchants, and moreover, "when we are harassed by someone in the city, we appeal to our ministers and officials and those responsible are punished by them." Then, the description focused on the slaves' practice of religion, describing the selection of *coggias* and the four "Churches of our Law, where we are permitted to observe our devotions with our slaves at whatever hour we please." After attributing many of these privileges to the efforts of the Capuchin Father Ginepro and to a recent diplomatic visit by the Ambassador Sidi Ali, the report insisted, "And if ... letters from these parts arrive saying otherwise, you lords must not believe any except those with this seal, and if some arrive that are written in Moorish, don't believe those either... thus we pray that your highness treat the Christian slaves well, otherwise we will be treated poorly."¹⁰³ Despite the slaves'

¹⁰² Ibid., "Qui ogni anno ci danno il vestito nuovo, e tre pani per ogni giorno con sue minestre, et uno schiavo, che va ammalato allo spedale la mattina subitamente e messo a letto, e mesoli sotto, e sopra le sue lenzuola bianche, e sono serviti da diverse persone, et ogni mattina che vienne il medico a visitarli li danno il pan bianco, con carne di castrato, e a quelli che sono gravamente ammalati li danno il pollo, si come dalla esperienza di S.A. tutti i medicamenti che bisognano e quando si dà il caso, che more qualche schiavo, va subito il nostro Coggia a visitarlo e secondo il nostro uso si fanno sotterrare fuori al Campo con ogni diligenza."

¹⁰³ Ibid., "Nella città poi quando ci viene dato fastidio da qualche d'uno, ricorriamo a nostri ministri, et ufficiali, da quali vengono per questi tali gastigati. Haviamo pure dentro al bagno quattro Chiese di nostra Legge, dove facciamo a che hora ci piace le nostre devozione con i nostri schiavi, che da nessuno ci vien dato fastidio... E se di queste parti venisse ... qualche lettere che dicesse al contrario, lor signori non

conciliatory efforts, Supervisor Prini threatened to punish the slaves “doubly” for future incidents and warned the *coggias* to “stay particularly vigilant concerning the Slave Boss ... that he does not give the seal to slaves to write letters complaining of ill treatment, which in fact they are not.”¹⁰⁴

Although the *coggias* and Slave Boss were likely pressured into performing their act of diplomatic reconciliation, the 1680 episode highlights how Livorno’s *bagno* was critical to the international balance of power. Unlike the African slaves of colonial plantations, Ottoman slaves in Livorno were empowered by diplomatic reciprocity. Indeed, when rumors circulated that Duke Cosimo III planned to forcibly convert all *bagno* slaves to Christianity, international protest ensued from European monarchs fearful for the fate of their Christian subjects detained throughout the Ottoman Empire.¹⁰⁵ As such, the Medici regime’s investment in the *bagno* must be conceived beyond a purely fiscal evaluation to include its significance as a political asset, particularly in light of the financial insolvency of the operation.

Despite the sporadic victories of the Order of Saint Stephen, the Tuscan galleys were never profitable, which led the Grand Duke to sell part of the naval fleet in 1647. After a brief resurgence in the 1670s and 1680s, between 1715 and 1718 the navy was again reduced to three galleys, and following the death of the last Medici Duke Gian

credano solo a quelle, che hanno questo bollo, e se in moresco pure ci fusse scritto qualche lettera, ne anco a queste ci credano.. cosi ancora preghiamo noi lor signori che faccino trattar bene costì li schiavi Christiani che facendo altrimenti, saremo trattati male ancora noi.”

¹⁰⁴ “... stare vigilanta e particolarmente al Capo de Mercanti schiavi che è quello che tiene il sigillo nelle mani acciò non presti detto sigillo a schiavi per scrivere lettere di essere mal trattati come in effetto non sono.” ASF, MP, 2086, f. 89 verso.

¹⁰⁵ Salvadorini, “Traffici e schiavi fra Livorno e Algeria.”

Gastone in 1737, the Order of Saint Stephen was disarmed. Although the gradual obsolescence of galley ships lowered demand for galley slaves in the late seventeenth century, Livorno's slave population decreased but did not disappear. In fact, the *bagno* continued to house aging slaves until 1747, when the Lorraine-controlled duchy replaced the informal *bagno* diplomacy with a formal peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire. Dated May 25, 1747, this treaty stipulated that all of Livorno's slaves, except subjects of the Kingdom of Morocco, would be released and sent to Istanbul.¹⁰⁶ Soon afterwards, the *bagno* edifice was repurposed and the remaining *forzati* were moved to Livorno's Fortezza Vecchia or transferred to Pisa and Portoferraio. For the first time in nearly two hundred years, the port of Livorno was devoid of a state-owned Muslim slave population.

However, one generation later the shifting of political winds brought six new Turkish slaves to Livorno in 1765, which were joined by twelve additional captives the following year and twenty-six more in 1772. Although these slaves were quickly integrated with the *forzati* in the Fortezza Vecchia, the regime's concern over their treatment prompted an investigation into earlier *bagno* practices codified in Livorno during the era of the "Old Galleys." In a detailed report to the Governor in 1773, the military architect Ignazio Fazzi offered a retrospective summary of the privileges formerly bestowed upon Livorno's *bagno* slaves. Although Fazzi never directly cites the September 4, 1680 declaration by Livorno's *coggia* and Slave Boss, it is clear from the sixteen points of his report that he was familiar with these and similar archival

¹⁰⁶ A detailed slave census taken immediately following this treaty permits a demographic analysis that is not possible for the *bagno*'s earlier decades. Bono and Ballatori, "Gli schiavi nel bagno di Livorno nel 1747."

documents. After describing the slaves' internal hierarchy and their ability to engage in commerce throughout the port, with an air of regret Fazzi concluded that given the economic and security conditions of Livorno in 1773, such privileges could no longer be offered to the Turkish slaves. Written at a moment when colonial plantation slavery was at its peak and abolitionist debates were raging, the report concludes with an air of nostalgia, "This was the bearable slavery that the Turks enjoyed in Tuscany in great contrast with [the slavery] they suffered most painfully in Naples, Civitavecchia, Genoa, Villefranche, and Spain."¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

Whether it was Louis XIV's Marseilles, papal Civitavecchia, or Venice, seventeenth century galley slavery developed in response to the macro-dynamics of international politics and the particular micro-dynamics within each port. In Livorno, the regime's unusual decision to manage galley slaves within a centralized structure on land forced officials to accommodate the social bonds and religious hierarchies that existed amongst their captives. As practical and political exigencies arose over time, these distinctions generated novel architectural, bureaucratic and diplomatic forms. Thus, although the *bagno* was conceived with fiscal and disciplinary intentions, this study highlights how the institution inadvertently fostered a site for cultural exchange and limited enfranchisement. By traversing Livorno's physical and legal boundaries, slaves

¹⁰⁷ "Questa era la sopportabile schiavitù, che i Turchi godevano in Toscana diversa di gran' lunga dà quella penossissima che soffrono in Napoli, Civitavecchia, Genova, Villafranca, e Spagna; non già in Malta, over per la difficoltà che hanno di tentare la fuga, la godono ugualmente sopportabile come in Livorno la godevano." Fazzi qualified his statement saying that in Malta, "they enjoyed a slavery that was as bearable as in Livorno due to the difficulty in attempting escape." Memoria di Ignazio Fazzi, ASL, Governatore, Lettere Civile, 13, folios 118-128, dated March 7, 1773. Report published in Salvadorini, "Traffici con i paesi islamici," 247-55.

became integral to the port's economy, not only through their objectified value as merchandise, but also through their active participation in trade and diplomacy.

This dynamic process begs reconsideration of the *bagno* within the context of other spaces of forced enclosure, such as mercantile *fondacos*, Jewish ghettos, prisons and workhouses. Although spatial restrictions are frequently employed as a punitive tool, the walls used to restrict and segregate a designated population at times could inadvertently offer protection, strengthen individual agency, and encourage social cohesion within.¹⁰⁸ Thus, even the most ostensibly disenfranchised populations can influence the dynamics within a given social and physical sphere. In Livorno, this resulted in a remarkable degree of accommodation for the Turkish *bagno* slaves whose economic, social, and political agency was far more dynamic than the cowering 'Moors' of the *Quattro Mori* sculpture suggest.

¹⁰⁸ On the micro cultures that formed within the Roman ghetto, see Kenneth R. Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: the Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

VI. CONCLUSION: LIVORNO, A “CACCIUCCO DI GENTE”

Communitarian Cosmopolitanism

When viewed through the lens of twenty-first century cosmopolitanism, the legacy of religious pluralism in early modern Livorno seems rife with irony and internal contradiction. On one hand, the dynastic rulers of the Medici Duchy (1537-1737) were unwavering in their diplomatic commitment to outwardly promote the militant ideals of post-Tridentine Catholicism. At the same time, however, they shrewdly recognized the economic utility of allowing Jewish and other non-Catholic communities to flourish in the port of Livorno. Although the Grand Dukes continued to placate papal expectations, their pursuit of enlightened self-interest propelled Livorno into the avant-garde of pre-Enlightenment religious pluralism. While the 1591/3 *Livornine* enfranchised Jewish immigrants through explicit social, economic, and religious privileges, the regime proved willing to tacitly accommodate similar activities when practiced discretely among the port's Protestant and schismatic Orthodox residents and state-owned Muslim slaves. However, the liberties that the Medici extended to non-Catholic minorities were tenuous and subject to constant negotiation. As such, the practice of toleration in Medicean Livorno constituted a dynamic process of dissimulation and compromise rather than the systematic implementation of a desirable *a priori* goal.

While the Medici regime's particularistic treatment of Jews, Protestants and Muslims in Livorno was shaped by multiple theological and diplomatic considerations, the overall rationale reflected the entrenched inequalities inherent to early modern society at large. Although the mechanics of religious pluralism varied between Catholic Livorno,

Calvinist Amsterdam, and Muslim Istanbul, the regimes governing each of these cosmopolitan cities used corporatist segregation as a tool for managing their diverse populations. By encouraging subjects and foreign residents to organize into discrete vocational, national and religious groups, early modern rulers had the power to selectively distribute economic and religious privileges among the corporate bodies. In this manner, the rulers of pluralistic societies could symbolically assert the superiority of the dominant religion or political class while still integrating the labor, skills, and capital of valuable minority groups. From the artisan guilds of late medieval Europe to the foreign mercantile *nazioni* throughout the Mediterranean, an individual's access to legal, economic, and religious privileges depended upon their ability to operate within this corporatist structure.

Francesca Trivellato's groundbreaking study, *The Familiarity of Strangers* (2009), examines the business practices of Livorno's eighteenth-century Sephardic Jewish merchants to demonstrate how the early modern culture of "communitarian cosmopolitanism" affected the dynamics of cross-cultural trade.¹ Her work offers a critical revision to the long-standing scholarly assumption that family and communal ties were paramount in creating the networks of trust that were essential to long distance trade among the Jewish and other merchant Diasporas. Through the rigorous examination of merchants' letters and the patterns of commission agency, Trivellato demonstrates that while Sephardic merchants employed endogamous business strategies to their advantage, Livorno's strong corporatist institutions also helped foster the "familiarity of strangers"

¹ Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 73.

that encouraged Jews and Christians to cooperate in business and long-distance trade. Thus, while Livorno's elected consuls and Jewish *massari* internally policed the behavior and credit of members in their *nazione*, the central administration of the Medici regime acted as a third-party enforcer to arbitrate conflicts between different groups. Since these institutional forces worked in tandem, the juridical segregation of the *nazioni* both reinforced communitarian bonds within each minority group while it also helped normalize business relations between communities by creating patterns of predictable behavior that mitigated the risks of cross-cultural trade.

Furthermore, Trivellato's study demonstrates how cross-cultural trade served as a conduit for other forms of cultural exchange. By analyzing the rhetorical patterns used in merchants' letters, she demonstrates how Sephardic Jews and Christians employed a shared set of business customs. Despite evidence of Jewish acculturation in Livorno, Trivellato emphasizes that this process favored cultural dominance of the Catholic majority and that an individual's potential for upward mobility was nonetheless determined by the parameters established for their *nazione*. Moreover, she carefully notes that the normalization of inter-faith business interactions must not be mistaken for the rise of full-fledged religious toleration, since "nowhere in Europe can we trace a linear correlation between mercantilist policies of toleration and legal and social acceptance of Jews."²

Ultimately, this dissertation affirms the impossibility of directly linking Livorno's pragmatic economic policy with the rise of enlightened toleration. However, by

² Ibid., 99-100.

highlighting the negotiations necessary for the legal, religious, and urban accommodation of a heterogeneous population, this study demonstrates how the practice of pre-Enlightenment toleration had the potential to transform both the settlement strategies of minority groups and the management strategies employed by the ruling class. Moreover, despite the regime's efforts to keep Livorno's corporate bodies legally separate, the port's urban integration fostered an environment where casual pluralistic social interaction was possible and at times even inevitable. Although the Medici regime discouraged fraternization between Christians, Jews, and Muslims, evidence of inter-faith sociality nonetheless demonstrates how the normalization of cross-cultural business relationships had the power to affect Livorno's cosmopolitan culture beyond the marketplace.

However, while missionary reports and Grand Tour travel narratives attest to the relative accessibility of Livorno's non-Catholic spaces, the Medici regime had no bureaucratic motivation to document casual and unproblematic social interactions that inevitably occurred during these and other cross-cultural encounters. Consequently, evidence of routine inter-faith sociality appears in archival sources only when such exchanges happened to coincide with aberrant behavior associated with a civil or ecclesiastical investigation. While it is difficult to extrapolate general trends based on a paucity of documented examples, future research may offer new insight into how the Medicean experiment fostered pluralistic or even syncretic forms of sociality. At this stage, however, two illustrative case studies suffice in demonstrating the interconnectedness of Livorno's cosmopolitan populace.

Pluralistic Sociality: Turkophone Culture and the Death of a Rabbi

The first case study involves a cross-cultural legal dispute from 1623 that provides indirect evidence of how certain Armenians, Greeks, Jews and Muslims in Livorno participated in a form of religiously pluralistic pan-Turkophone sociality. The first examines casual relationships that formed between the port's pan-Levantine peoples and the second reveals the casual participation of Christian merchants at the 1680 funeral of a Jewish Rabbi. According to historian Guillaume Calafat's analysis of this civil court trial, the 1623 legal dispute arose a few months after two Persian Armenian merchants named Moratto and Marco arrived in Livorno carrying thirty-five rough cut diamonds totaling eighty-eight carats.³ To prepare their precious merchandise for the marketplace the Armenian merchants hired a Jewish jeweler in Livorno named Samuel d'Orta to polish the stones. However, after d'Orta vanished with the diamonds two months later, the Armenians merchants appealed to Livorno's Governor and the Tuscan Grand Duke for justice. Medici regime officials acknowledged that Samuel d'Orta was indisputably the primary guilty party in the affair. However, the Jewish jewel thief had fled Livorno beyond the legal jurisdiction of the Tuscan authorities. The Armenians nonetheless sought financial retribution for their losses by embarking on legal proceedings to prosecute d'Orta's Jewish friend and possible business associate, Daniel de Leone, as an accomplice to the crime.

³ Guillaume Calafat, "L'Institution de la coexistence: Les communautés et leurs droits à Livourne (1590-1630)," in David Paço, Mathilde Monges, and Laurent Tatarenko (eds), *Des religions dans la ville: ressorts et stratégies de coexistence dans l'Europe des XVIème-VIIème siècles* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), 83-102.

Since the Armenian merchants could not produce any written evidence proving that de Orta and de Leone were business associates in this diamond polishing affair, their efforts to hold de Leone legally responsible hinged upon testimony concerning a verbal exchange that had occurred in the Armenian's residence in the days following Samuel d'Orta's suspicious disappearance. The Armenians testified that de Leone offered a verbal defense of d'Orta in which he vouched for his friends' good faith. The court was responsible for determining whether de Leone's words constituted a legally binding commitment. To this end, they summoned several witnesses to testify about the nature of the Jewish jewelers' relationship and about what de Leone had said in Turkish to the Armenians during the confrontation that took place in their hostel residence. Although the Armenians' attempts at prosecuting Daniel de Leone as an accessory to the theft were ultimately unsuccessful, the testimony gathered during the investigation offers historians an unlikely glimpse into seventeenth-century Livorno's polyglot and cross-cultural sociability.

The list of individuals who were called to testify included two Italian Catholics, two Greeks (Oriental Rite Catholics), and three Muslim Turkish slaves. Each man had a variety of personal, professional, and social reasons to explain either their involvement with d'Orta's workshop or the altercation between de Leone and the Armenians at their lodgings.⁴ Whereas the two Italian Catholics called to testify were employed in d'Orta's workshop turning the wheel to polish the diamonds, the remaining list of individuals were all linked through a shared familiarity with Levantine social customs and the Turkish

⁴ Although the seventeenth-century civil and criminal records housed in the State Archive of Livorno were damaged and partially destroyed, scholars can corroborate extant records in Livorno with those of the appeals courts in Florence and Pisa.

language. As Guillaume Calafat notes in his analysis of this case, when the Armenians were asked why they initially chose d'Orta's workshop to polish their jewels, they testified using a translator that they had chosen d'Orta because "he spoke Turkish well."⁵ The two Greek merchants who witnessed the verbal exchange in the parlor room of the Armenian's hostel testified that they spoke Turkish in addition to Greek and Italian. Furthermore, the nature of their relationship to the Armenians was largely social. Whereas the Greek merchant and ship captain Manolo di Pasquale testified that he and the Armenians had shared several dinners together at each other's residences, the Greek Dimitri Cailla said that he occasionally shared a glass of "Greek" with the Armenians, not at their expense, but rather "as was the custom between friends."⁶

The transnational Turkophone sociability that was shared between the Greeks and Armenians was also echoed in the testimony of the three Muslim Turkish slaves. All three of the Muslims slaves testified to their presence in the Armenian's hostel on the day of the verbal confrontation. The state-owned Turkish slave Ali di Bayindir d'Antioch testified that he was working in the hostel on that particular day as a barber for the Armenians. Another slave (Arvas Hesedi de Karaman) testified that he was in the process of washing clothes when he stopped in the hostel to smoke "a pipe of tobacco."⁷ A third Muslim slave, Ebraim d'A Ahmed, was actually employed by d'Orta to turn the wheel in his workshop but on this particular day had been invited to dinner by the Armenians. The

⁵ "parlava benissimo turchesco." Quoted by Calafat, "L'Institution de la coexistence," 98.

⁶ "qualche volta a bere un bicchiere di greco a casa di esso et alle volte a casa dalli suddetti, ma non a spese loro ma come s'usa tra gli'amici." Ibid.

⁷ "bere una pipa di tobacco." Ibid., 99.

courts ultimately found insufficient grounds for punishing Daniel de Leone and the Armenian merchants were held responsible for the costs of the legal proceedings. In part, the decision reflected the guarantees in the *Livornine* that promised Jews that they could not be prosecuted for crimes committed by their co-nationals. While the prolonged legal battle highlights the linguistic and legal difficulties that faced Armenian merchants in Livorno in the years before they were granted a recognized consul (requested in 1624, granted in 1646), the case offers compelling evidence of how the business and social relationships of Livorno's Levantine Armenians, Greeks, Jews, and Turkish slaves frequently bridged religious, national, and class divisions.⁸

A second case study highlights how Livorno's pluralistic sociality provoked anxiety amongst ecclesiastical authorities, regime officials, and certain members of the port's Catholic population. As described in Medici administrative reports and the investigative proceedings of Pisan inquisitors, a scandal broke out in Livorno in November 1680 following the funeral of a prominent Jewish Rabbi, Malachaim Montefoscoli, who had passed away due to natural causes at the mature age of roughly ninety.⁹ Although the *Livornine* decrees explicitly granted the Jewish *nazione* permission to host public funerals, the events that transpired during the Rabbi's funeral prompted a

⁸ For further discussion of Livorno's pan-Turkophone sociality, see Guillaume Calafat and Cesare Santus, 'Les avatars du « Turc »: Esclaves et commerçants musulmans à Livourne (1600–1750),' in J. Dakhli and B. Vincent (eds), *Les musulmans dans l'histoire de l'Europe: une intégration invisible* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2011), 471–522.

⁹ For analysis and archival transcriptions related to this episode, see P. Zorattini, "'Huomo angelico' o 'angelicus humanato': le esequie del Rabbino Malachaim Montefoscoli nella Livorno dell'ultimo Seicento," in G. Busi (ed.), *We-zo 't le-Angelo raccolta di studi giudaici in memoria al Angelo Vivian* (Bologna: Associazione Italiana per lo Studio del Giudaismo, 1993), 275–309; Francesco Pera, *Nuove curiosità Livornesi: Inedite o rare* (Livorno: U. Bastogi Editore, 1888), 119–120; A. Milano, "Le esequie di un rabbino a Livorno nel Seicento," *Annuario di Studi Ebraici*, III (1963–4): 65–68; Lucia Frattarelli Fisher, *Vivere fuori del ghetto: Ebrei a Pisa e Livorno* (Torino: Silvio Zamorani, 2008), 134.

young Catholic Livornese, Gregorio Bonfigli, to file an official denunciation with the Vicar of the Holy Office. In Bonfigli's initial testimony to ecclesiastical authorities from December 1680, he complained that the Rabbi's funeral had been characterized by excessive pomp and circumstance that was unfitting of a Catholic city. He then described in detail the behaviors he witnessed which he considered to be "in contempt" of the Catholic Religion.¹⁰

According to the testimony of Bonfigli and other witnesses, the funeral began with a solemn procession in which four prominent members of the Jewish *nazione* carried the Rabbi's casket from his home to the synagogue accompanied by roughly twenty-four Jewish congregants holding torches or candles. The synagogue's sacristan, David Penna, described how the interior of the synagogue was cloaked in black and a catafalque was erected for the casket. The hour-long service in the synagogue included the recitation of Hebrew psalms and the presentation of a eulogy delivered in Spanish. Afterwards, participants in the funerary procession marched from the synagogue to the suburban Jewish cemetery accompanied by four armed soldiers. Once they crossed the boundary of Livorno's city walls, mourners lit torches in preparation for their arrival at the final burial site. An additional eulogy was delivered in Spanish prior to the interment of the Rabbi's casket. In order to protect the casket and congregation from the stormy weather that threatened to disrupt the ceremony, Livorno's free Christian galley men, the *buonevoglie*, had erected a covered pavilion in the Jewish cemetery using the fabric sails from a galley

¹⁰ Bonfigli's denunciation is transcribed in Zorattini, "'Huomo angelico' o 'angelicus humanato,'" 287-288.

ship.¹¹ The casket was then lowered into the grave dug by two eminent members of the Jewish community dressed as humble peasants. After the funerary events concluded, the numerous participants returned to the city in a peaceful manner.

Although the Rabbi's 1680 funeral unfolded without any outwards signs of disturbance, the events had nonetheless offended Catholic sensibilities, at least according to the Archbishop of Pisa, Francesco Pannocchieschi. In the weeks prior to the official Inquisitorial inquiry, the Archbishop wrote letters admonishing Livorno's secular authorities for allowing the funeral to unfold as described. Ecclesiastical authorities were preoccupied by many details from the event, but they especially objected to the armed Christian soldiers who accompanied the procession and the *buonavoglie* who erected the protective tent. As the Secretary of State explained to Livorno's Governor, Alessandro del Borro, "even if these actions were requested as a pretext to prevent tumult, one can easily believe that they were desired for [the sake of] ostentation and not necessity."¹² Ecclesiastical authorities were also preoccupied with details including the height at which the casket was carried (raised above the shoulders instead of low) and whether participants in the procession lit their torches and candles before or after leaving Livorno's city walls. Critics interpreted these cumulative details as evidence that the Medici regime had overcompensated in its duty to provide Jewish protection and had instead facilitated state participation in publically honoring the Jewish ceremony.

¹¹ ASF, MP, 2099, folio 110.

¹² The Secretary of State wrote, "se ben si risponde che siano chiesti col pretesto d'impedire i tumulti ben può credersi che siano desiderati per baldanza e non per bisogno." Quoted by Zorattini, "'Huomo angelico' o 'angelicus humanato,'" 283.

While the optics of the ceremony were of concern to secular and ecclesiastical authorities alike, Pisan inquisitors were specifically charged with the task of rooting out any heresy associated with the funeral. To this end, they called several witnesses to testify not only about the events that transpired but also about the content of the eulogies. Theologically, they were concerned with whether or not the eulogists had described the defunct rabbi as ‘*beatus*,’ which would have constituted a heretical statement insofar as it implied the Jewish rabbi’s salvation. The inquiry by Pisan inquisitors revealed that the armed soldiers and *forzati* were not the only Christian who had witnessed the events unfold in the synagogue and Jewish cemetery. Rather, the list of Christians who reportedly attended the funeral included several Catholic *Livornesi*, several foreign Catholics, and a few suspected Protestant ship captains. When questioned by inquisitors, each of the *Livornesi* described how either business interests or mere “curiosity” drove them to spontaneously attend the Rabbi’s funeral in the synagogue and cemetery. Although the Christian witnesses included several polyglot individuals, most of them admitted that they had an imperfect understanding of the Spanish eulogies. Nonetheless, they reassured inquisitors that the spoken praise for the Rabbi did not include any heretical statements. Ultimately, the Pisan inquisitors found no evidence of heresy and thus closed the investigation. However, they issued a stern warning to Medici regime officials that advised them to avoid participating in such elaborate Jewish funerals in the future.

From the evidence revealing inter-faith Turkophone sociality to the testimony of Christians who attended a Jewish rabbi’s funeral, such incidental glimpses into Livorno’s

pluralistic social interactions suggest how a more inclusive approach to the port's urban and social history can contribute to our understanding of pre-Enlightenment religious toleration. Such episodes reveal how members of different religious groups and class levels formed social and business relationships despite the legal and linguistic barriers that ostensibly kept them separate. While it is tempting for historians to interpret voluntary inter-faith social interactions as evidence of rising tolerant cosmopolitanism, the frequency of pluralistic encounters does not necessarily indicate the increasing acceptance or understanding of religious, racial, or cultural differences. Indeed, some cross-cultural encounters in Livorno only served to reinforce the preconceived racial biases held by individuals, as epitomized by the anti-Semitic sentiments of the French missionary Jean-Baptiste Labat described in chapter four. Furthermore, the practice of toleration in early modern Livorno did not produce irreversible cumulative effects. Rather, the post-Medicean history of Livorno offers ample evidence of how the dynamics of religious pluralism changed significantly over the course of subsequent generations.

Postscript: Livorno's Cosmopolitan Legacy

When Duke Ferdinando I issued the first *Livornina* decree in 1591, the Tuscan Duchy was allied with the formidable post-Tridentine Catholic Church whose spiritual, ideological, and material weapons were mobilized in a global effort to combat the rising power of 'infidel' Ottomans and the divisive threat of Protestant heresies. However, over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Protestant Dutch and English merchant empires rose to prominence and the political and military power of the Ottoman Empire began to wane. Although the religious divisions in Europe and the

Mediterranean persisted, in the eighteenth century the Roman Catholic Church entered a different stage in its battle. Rather than responding to the tangible threat of new heresies, the church entered a prolonged struggle against the spread of skeptical latitudinarianism and doctrinal indifference.¹³ Indeed, by the late eighteenth century, Christian doctrinal liberalism was increasingly seen in a positive light and the economic benefits of religious toleration were widely recognized. The prevailing theories of economic development also underwent a radical transformation as regimes throughout Europe sought to dismantle the older protectionist policies of mercantilism to better align with the new belief in *laissez-faire* economics.

The Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty succeeded the Medici as leaders of Tuscany following the 1737 death of the last childless Medici Grand Duke, Gian Gastone. Although the Lorraine rulers continued to honor the comprehensive privileges granted to Livorno's Jewish nation in the *Livornine*, Francesca Bregoli has argued how the effect of these policies shifted dramatically in light of the changing eighteenth century worldview.¹⁴ Whereas the Medici regime's willingness to grant particularistic protections to Livorno's Jewish nation constituted a fairly progressive social and economic policy in the late sixteenth century, by the mid-eighteenth century the persistence of this practice was indicative of the port's entrenched conservative interests, which stunted the

¹³ Stefano Villani has convincingly posited this argument. Stefano Villani, "Religious Pluralism and the Danger of Toleration: The English Nation in Livorno in the Seventeenth Century," in F. Barbierato and A. Veronese (eds), *Late Medieval and Early Modern Dissents: Conflicts and Plurality in Renaissance Europe* (Pisa: Edizioni il Campano, 2012), 97-124, especially 122.

¹⁴ Francesca Bregoli, "The Port of Livorno and its 'Nazione Ebraica' in the Eighteenth Century: Economic Utility and Political Reforms," *Quest Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of Fondazione CDEC*, n. 2 (October 2011): 45-68.

equalizing efforts of enlightened monarchs and delayed the full political integration of Livorno's Jews.

Under the leadership of Regent Francis Stephen (1737-65) and his son Grand Duke Peter Leopold (1765-90), the Lorraine rulers implemented reforms throughout Tuscany in an effort to restructure the state according to the ideals of enlightened absolutism. The Lorraine rulers increased religious freedom throughout Tuscany. In 1744, the Regency suspended the activities of the Holy Roman Inquisition. Although the Inquisition reappeared in a diluted form in 1754, by 1782 Grand Duke Peter Leopold declared the institution permanently abolished in Tuscany.¹⁵ The Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty demilitarized the Tuscan navy and in 1747 signed a peace treaty with the Ottoman Empire and several North African powers. As a result of this treaty, Livorno's remaining Turkish slaves were released from captivity. In addition, several of frescoes painted on Livorno's external building facades were destroyed because they depicted the inflammatory anti-Ottoman naval exploits of the Crusading Order of St. Stephen.¹⁶

The efforts of Lorraine rulers sought to homogenize the Tuscan administration and dismantle the outmoded corporate privileges of conservative Medici mercantilism. Although they removed many restrictions on industry and revoked the privileges held by most corporate bodies, Livorno's Jewish nation maintained their exceptional privileges. In 1789, Grand Duke Peter Leopold acted in the spirit of enlightened absolutism and emancipated Tuscan Jews by issuing a *motu proprio* that rendered them equal to all other

¹⁵ Francisco Bethencourt, *The Inquisition: A Global History, 1478-1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 430-431.

¹⁶ For the terms for the 1747 peace treaty, see Salvatore Bono and E. Ballatori, "Gli schiavi nel bagno di Livorno nel 1747," *Studi Arabo-Islamici in Onore di Roberto Rubinacci* (1985): 87-106.

subjects in Tuscany. In Livorno, however, the logic of Jewish economic ‘utility’ persisted and although the Jewish nation maintained their closely guarded historic privileges, they were effectively denied full participation in the new emancipated model of Jewish citizenship. Whereas Jews in other parts of Tuscany were eligible for individually holding municipal office, Livorno’s Jews were limited by their corporate structure to the selection of a single representative who was subject to the approval of the Grand Duke. By the late eighteenth century, the corporate structure that had once empowered Livorno’s Jews had become a means for aristocratic Christian *Livornesi* to limit Jewish power. As Bregoli describes, “The retention of the old corporate privileges, thus, prevented Livornese Jews from experiencing the smooth process of political integration that historians have generally associated with Jews of Sephardi or Italian origin.”¹⁷ This discriminatory situation continued until Tuscan annexation into Italy in 1859 and as Bregoli’s analysis concludes:

The port of Livorno was a successful example of mercantilist policy at work, from which its Jewish community reaped great benefits in the early modern period. ... At the onset of “modernity,” however, its privileged status as a mercantile community turned out to be a force for conservatism that, while preserving the time honored structures and norms, prevented the full application of reforming and equalizing policies.¹⁸

[**Fig. 6.1**] Livorno’s religious and ethnic diversity waned significantly in the nineteenth century as the port lost its status as prominent international emporium. It continued to function as a bustling regional port, however, and in 1881 the newly unified Italian state founded a Naval Academy on the site of Livorno’s former lazaretto of San

¹⁷ Bregoli, “The Port of Livorno and its ‘Nazione Ebreja’ in the Eighteenth Century,” 68.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Jacopo. Livorno became increasingly industrialized in the early twentieth century and in 1921 the port's working class sympathies led to the founding of the Communist Party of Italy. However, the subsequent rise of Italian fascism and the outbreak of World War II fundamentally altered the city's social and urban history. By the time allied forces began dropping bombs on Livorno in 1940, most of the port's Jewish families had already fled Italy whereas those who remained were subsequently deported in 1943. While the practices of religious toleration in Livorno had long been dismantled, the physical remnants of the Medicean experiment also came crumbling down. Although allied bombs targeted oil refineries and railway stations, Livorno's material losses included the complete destruction of the Jewish synagogue in addition to heavy damage sustained by the Cathedral and Armenian Church. **[Fig. 6.2]** By the time Allied forces liberated Livorno in the summer of 1944, repeated blanket bombings had destroyed an estimated 60-90% of the city's historic urban fabric. **[Fig. 6.3]**

Although a handful of Medici-era buildings remained standing, Livorno's hasty post-war reconstruction emphasized utility over historic preservation. Today the unsightly port is rarely visited by tourists apart from the passengers of cruise boats who disembark in Livorno and promptly shuffle through the city on their way to Pisa and Florence. However, the recuperation of Livorno's history has assumed a new urgency among scholars, non-profit organizations and the Italian Ministry of Cultural Affairs. While organizations such as Livorno delle Nazioni have begun lobbying for funding to physically preserve the neglected remnants of Livorno's material past, publically financed cultural programs evoke Livorno's Medicean history to promote urban

improvements and discuss issues of cultural diversity in contemporary Italy.¹⁹ Nevertheless, much work remains to be done, both for scholars who study the dynamics of Livorno's historical pluralism, and for policy makers who are responsible for addressing the challenges of toleration and global immigration today and in the future.

Political thinkers, sociologists, and critics of popular culture have employed a range of metaphors to articulate how immigration and cultural assimilation affects the formation of a pluralistic society. In the early twentieth century, the Jewish-British playwright of Russian origin, Israel Zangwill, popularized the notion that the United States of America represented a "melting pot" of cultures.²⁰ The protagonist from Zangwill's 1905 play, *The Melting Pot*, memorably described early twentieth century America as a place where, "all races of Europe are melting and reforming."²¹ Although the phrase has endured to the present day, social critics have since rejected the implied

¹⁹ In March 2010, the Comune di Livorno joined with Avventura Urbana and Sociolab to sponsor a public campaign to revitalize the city's urban center. This municipal campaign solicited ideas from the public on how to redevelop Bernardo Buontalenti's pentagon. For a report on this campaign, see "Pensiamo il grande, le giornate dell'ascolto: percorso partecipativo per il progetto di riqualificazione del pentagono di Buontalenti," (Livorno: Comune di Livorno, 2010), 1-17; In October 23-25, 2009, the association of Amici dei Musei e dei Monumenti Livornesi drew attention to Livorno's multicultural past when it sponsored the 24th annual conference of the Federazione Italiana degli Amici dei Musei entitled, "L'Arte Ambasciatrice di Conoscenza di Pace." The non-profit cultural association, Livorno delle Nazioni, seeks to raise awareness of Livorno's multicultural history with the aim of promoting historical research and generating financial support for the restoration of the city's extant historical buildings.

²⁰ While similar phrases may have been evoked in the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries to describe heterogeneous American culture, the notion that the United States of America represented the great "melting pot" of cultures was popularized in the early twentieth century, due in part to Israel Zangwill's well-received 1905 play entitled *The Melting Pot*. This play was billed as "The Great American Drama." It tells the story of two Russian immigrants to America who fall in love but face challenges because they are of different religious backgrounds (Russian Orthodox and Jewish). The play was well received by American audiences in 1908-9. Edna Nahshon (ed.), *From the Ghetto to the Melting Pot: Israel Zangwill's Jewish Plays* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2006).

²¹ "America is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming... Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians - into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American." Ibid., 288.

assimilationist model that is suggested by Zangwill's metaphor for heterogeneous cultural elements melting into a homogenous cultural amalgam.²² Instead, sociologists have offered a variety of alternative phrases, including the notion of a cultural "stew," "salad bowl," "mosaic," or "symphony."²³ As the benefits and challenges of multiculturalism affect nearly every society in our increasingly globalized world, scholars and poets still search for words to accurately describe a pluralistic model of social and political integration wherein a heterogeneous society is composed of different elements that remain distinct and identifiable while also participating in the shared culture of an integrated whole. The pluralistic culture that arose in Early Modern Livorno was also shaped by the competing dynamics of segregation, integration, and assimilation. As such, it is fitting to conclude this dissertation with yet another metaphor that describes Livorno's pluralistic society as a "*cacciucco*" of people.

²² In an afterward to the play written in 1914, Zangwill clarified his own idea of the amalgam by stating, "the process of American amalgamation is not assimilation or a simple surrender to the dominant type, as is popularly supposed, but an all-around give-and-take by which the final type may be enriched or impoverished." Ibid., 211; See also Nancy Green, "Le Melting Pot: Made in America, Produced in France," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 86, No. 3, (1999): 1188-1208.

²³ The vast historiography that examines these metaphors in relation to the historical dynamics of multiculturalism includes, Timothy Hatton and Jeffrey Williamson, *The Age of Mass Migration: Causes and Economic Impact* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton.: Princeton University Press, 1992); Nathan Glazer and Daniel Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish of New York City*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press, 1970); Elijah Anderson, "Beyond the Melting Pot Reconsidered," *International Migration Review* 34, no. 1 (2000): 262-270; Michael Smith and Joe Feagin, *The Bubbling Cauldron: Race, Ethnicity, and the Urban Crisis* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Melvin Steinfield (ed.), *Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and Discrimination in American History* (Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1970); Gérard Noiriel, *The French Melting Pot: Immigration, Citizenship, and National Identity* (University of Minnesota Press, 1996); Wolfgang Zank, *The German Melting-Pot: Multiculturalism in Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998); Michael D'Innocenzo and Josef Sirefman (eds), *Immigration and Ethnicity: American Society--"Melting Pot" or "Salad Bowl"?* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1992); Tamar Jacoby (ed.), *Reinventing the Melting Pot: the New Immigrants and What it Means to be American* (New York: Basic Books, 2004).

Among the many culinary specialties that define *Livornese* cuisine by far the most iconic dish is the local spiced fish stew known as *cacciucco alla livornese*. While *cacciucco* is featured at many fine restaurants in Livorno, locals are aware that they must place their order for this dish one day in advance to allow the chef sufficient time to acquire the necessary ingredients from the local fishmonger. Recipes for *cacciucco* call for a variety of seafood, including cuttlefish, squid, octopus, dogfish, rockfish, scorpion fish (*scrofano*), date mussels, shrimp and clams. These ingredients are combined with fish head broth, tomatoes, parsley, celery, onions, garlic and spicy red pepper. The more elaborate variations of the recipe include white wine, bay leaf, sage, carrot and garlicky toasted bread. Although the fish stew is related to the *bouillabaisse* common in many port towns, the mythology surrounding *cacciucco* is understood to be uniquely *Livornese*.²⁴

Although the line separating *cacciucco* fact and fiction is hazy, the journalist and food commentator Aldo Santini traced the origins of the dish to early Medicean Livorno. His version of events attributes the recipe to the guardian of Livorno's Meloria Lighthouse, who in the 1580s was responsible for feeding the galley slaves when the Grand Ducal ships were in port.²⁵ *Cacciucco* was an improvised recipe born of frugality after the Lighthouse guardian collected the leftover and slightly rancid fish parts discarded by fishmongers and cooked them together in a stew heavily spiced with garlic and red pepper. Whether or not the details of this anecdote are accurate, the etymology of

²⁴ Relation variations of the Mediterranean fish stew include the Provençal *bouillabaisse*, the Spanish *cachuco*, and the Venetian *brodetto* or *zuppa alla marinara*.

²⁵ A competing anecdote attributes *cacciucco* to the widow of a Livornese fisherman who was desperate to feed her children after the death of her husband. In this version of events, local fishermen charitably contributed diverse ingredients to the widow who combined them into the *cacciucco* fish stew.

cacciucco can be traced to the Turkish word *kaçıkli*, meaning “bits and pieces.”²⁶ While local legends about the origins of *cacciucco* vary, all of the creation myths emphasize the stew’s humble beginnings.

Whereas Livorno’s savory combination of heterogeneous and depreciated fish parts was originally suitable only for famished galley slaves, by the eighteenth century many Tuscans embraced *cacciucco* as a proud local tradition and the dish was featured on the menus of celebratory state dinners. As the once-humble stew joined the ranks of *haute cuisine*, the mythology of *cacciucco* offered an appropriate metaphor for the cosmopolitan origin of Livorno. Indeed, Santini evokes the city’s history of gathering discrete and discarded immigrants whose cultures simmered together when he writes, “*cacciucco è la bandiera di Livorno, una città cacciucco di gente.*”²⁷ Although pithy culinary metaphors cannot fully encapsulate the complex dynamics of toleration, assimilation and integration that define the contours of any cosmopolitan culture, these cultural constructs offer new ways to visualize the making and remaking of our individual and collective identities.

²⁶ Manlio Cortelazzo and Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua Italiana*, vol. 1/A-C (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1979), 182.

²⁷ Which translates loosely as, “*cacciucco* is the banner of Livorno, a city *cacciucco* with people.” Aldo Santini, *Cucina Livornese* (Padova: Franco Muzzio Editore, 1988), 37-55.

VII. FIGURES

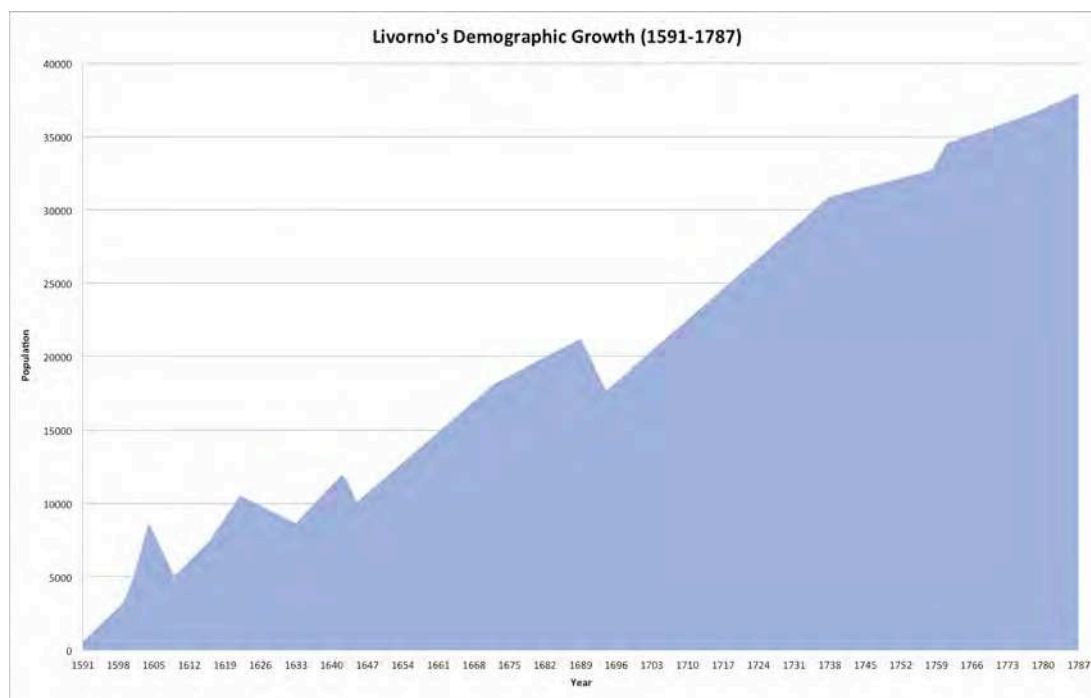


Figure 1.1¹

¹ Livorno's total population growth (1591-1787) is compiled using demographic data from the following primary and secondary sources: ASF, MP, 1829, f. 221 (estimates 3,200 people in 1599); ASF, MP, 2145, f. 8011 (lists 4,975 people in 1601); ASF, MP, 2328a, unpaginated folio (census lists 21,194 people in 1689); G. Pardi, "Disegno della storia demografica di Livorno," *Archivio Storico Italiano*, LXXVI (1918): 1-96; E. Fasano Guarini, "Esenzioni e immigrazione a Livorno tra Sedicesimo e Diciassettesimo Secolo," in *Livorno e il Mediterraneo nell'età medicea* (Livorno: U. Bastogi, 1978), 56-75; E. Fasano Guarini, "La popolazione," in *Livorno: progetto e storia di una città tra il 1500 e il 1600* (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi e Pacini, 1980), 199-215; Livorno's secondary source demographic data is compiled and discussed in Francesca Trivellato, *The Familiarity of Strangers: the Sephardic Diaspora, Livorno, and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 54-56.



Figure 1.2



Figure 1.3



Figure 1.4



Figure 2.1

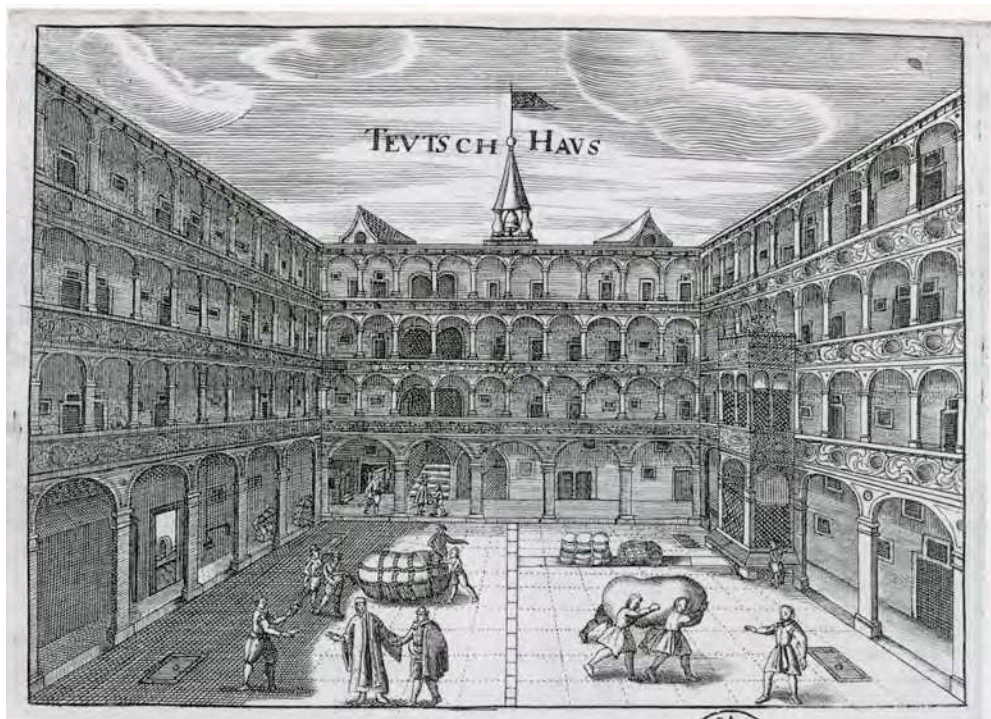


Figure 2.2

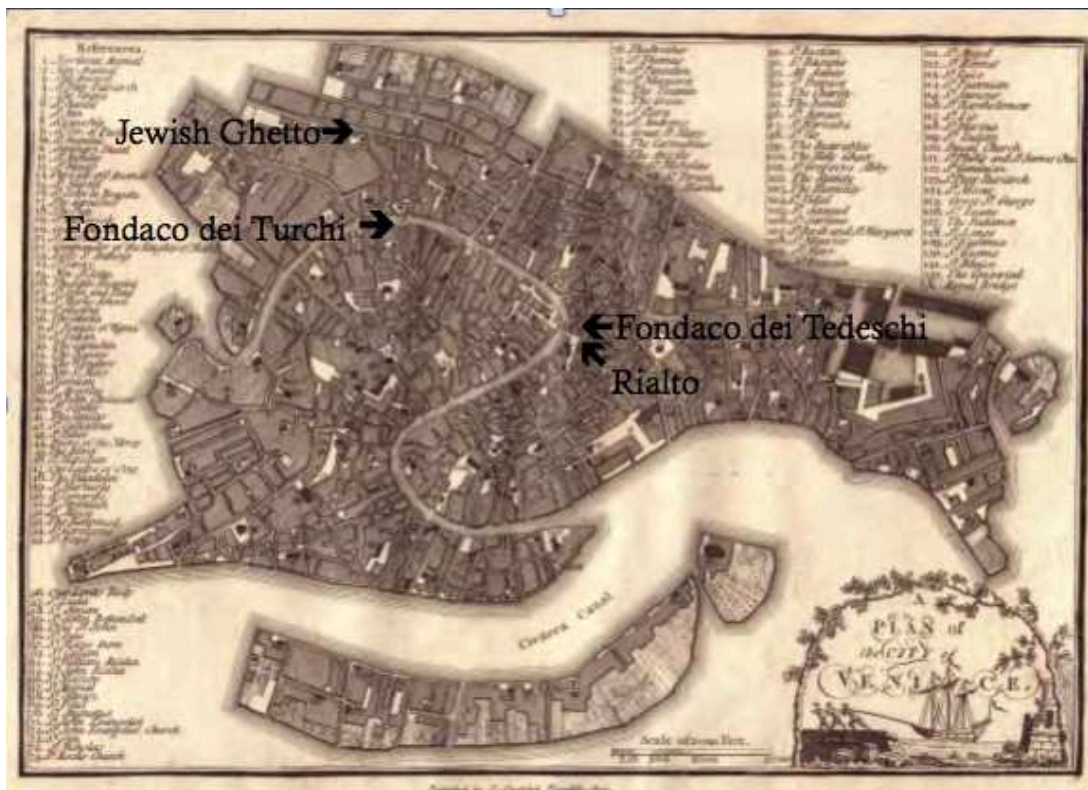


Figure 2.3

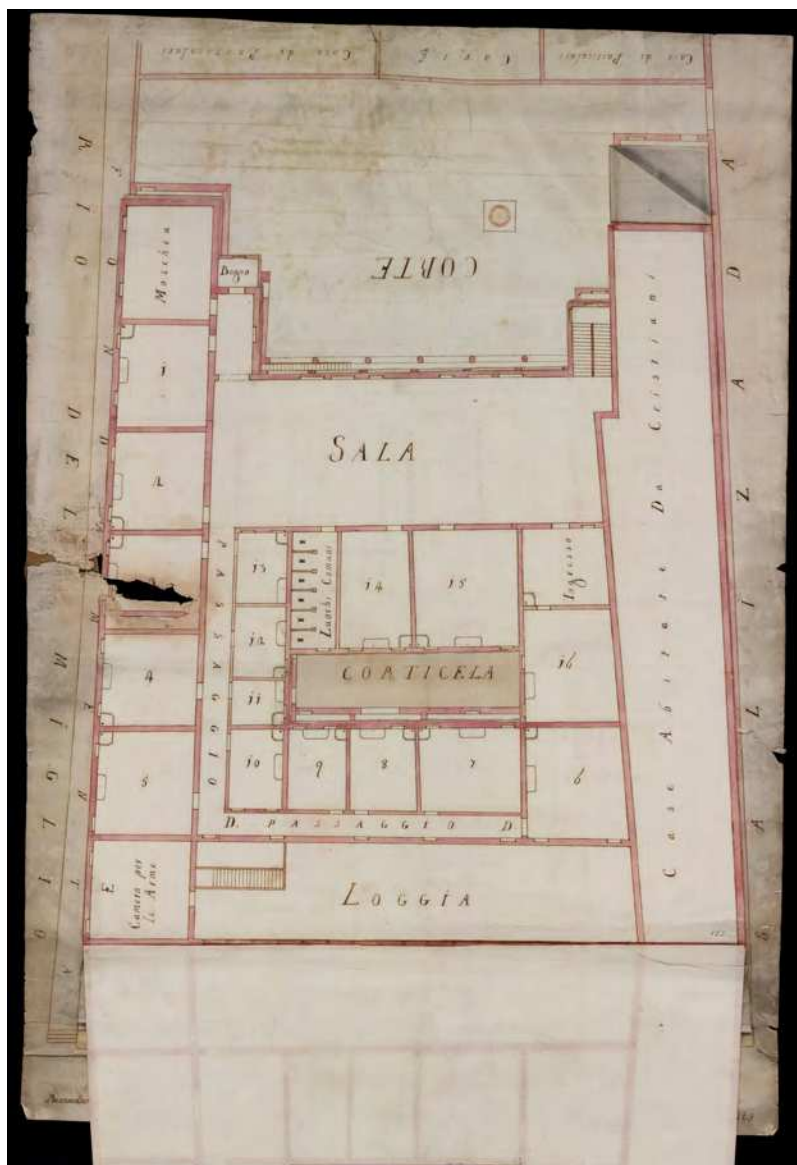


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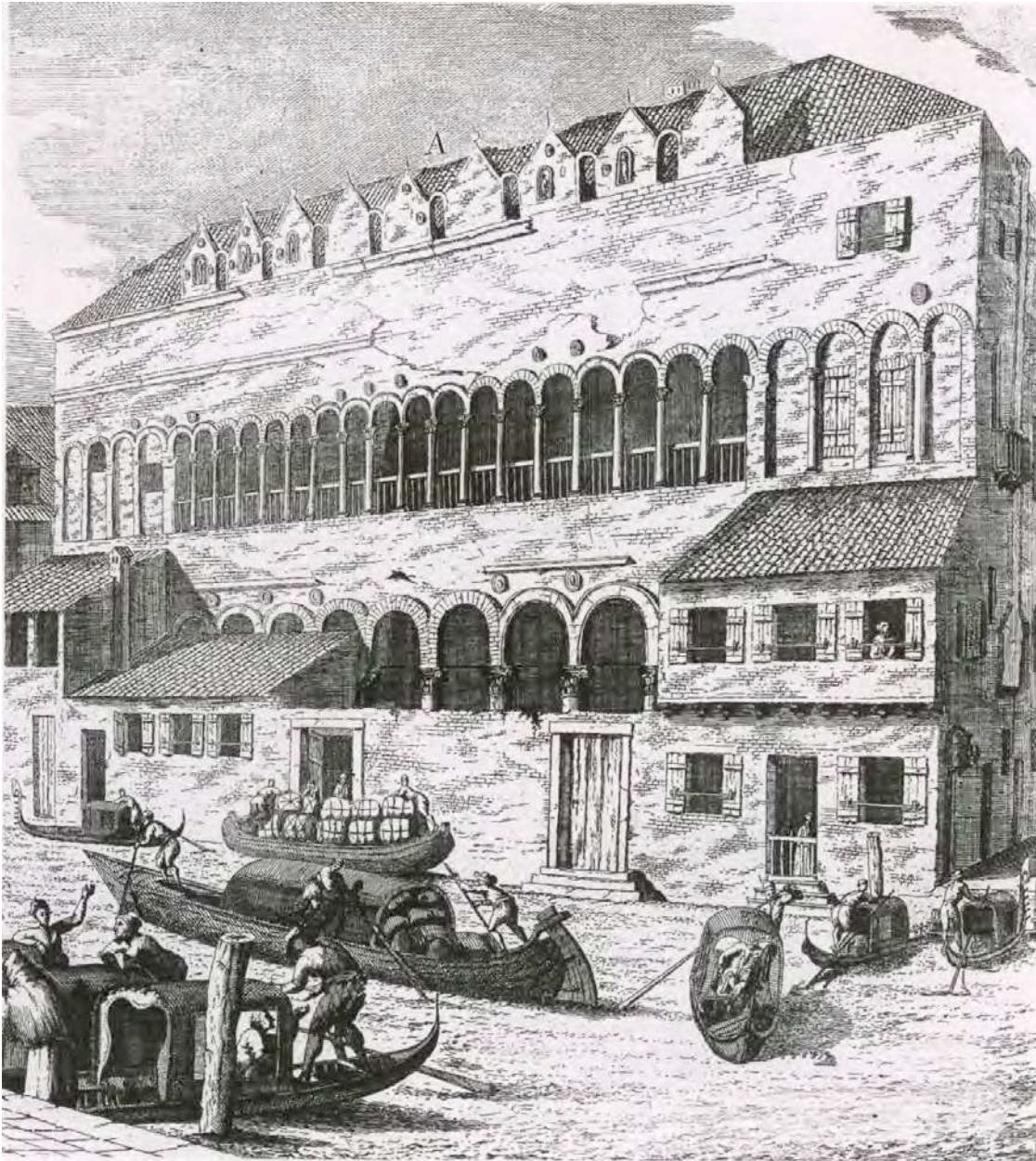


Figure 2.5



Figure 2.6



Figure 3.1

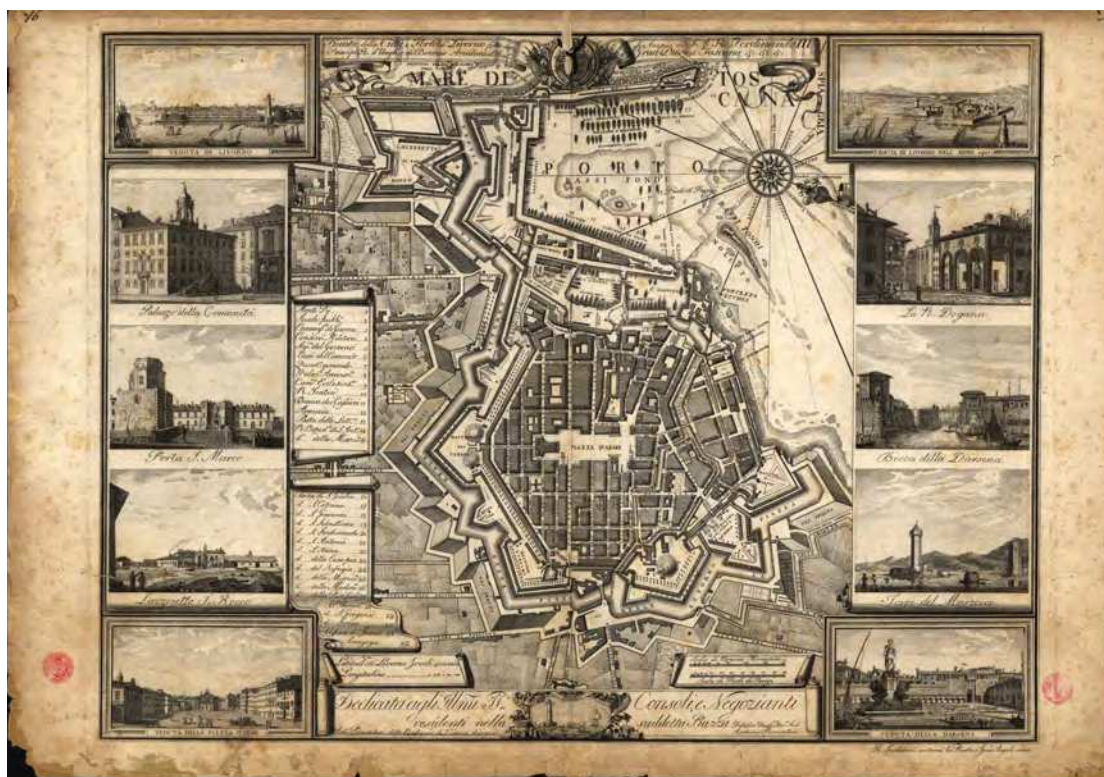


Figure 3.2

City	Date	Population	Date	Population	% change in population
Pisa	1293	38,000	1562	10,000	−74
Siena	1328	52,000	1520	21,000	−62
Florence	1338	95,000	1526	50,000	−47
Milan	1300	150,000	1510	>100,000	−33 or more
Padua	1320	38,000	1500	27,000	−29
Genoa	1290	60,000	1535	50,000	−17
Venice	1338	120,000	1509	102,000	−15
Modena	1306	18,000	1539	15,675	−13
Bologna	1320	54,000	1495	50,000	−7
Vicenza	1320	22,000	1548	21,000	−5
Lucca	1300	23,000	1540	18,000	−22
Verona	1325	38,000	1502	42,000	+11
Mantua	1320	28,000	1527	32,000	+14
Ferrara	1320	17,000	1520	41,000	+141

Figure 3.3

	1500	1550	% increase 1500–50	1600	% increase 1550–1600	% increase 1500–1600
N Netherlands	900,000	n a	—	1,500,000	—	66
Spain	6,500,000	n a	—	8,500,000	—	31
France	15,000,000	n a	—	19,000,000	—	27
Italy	10,000,000	11,000,000	10	12,000,000	8	20
England and Wales	3,750,000	n a	—	4,250,000	—	13
London	40,000	n a	—	200,000	—	400
Amsterdam	14,000	n a	—	65,000	—	274
Paris	100,000	n a	—	220,000	—	120
Madrid	n a	n a	—	49,000	—	—
Rome	55,000	45,000	−18	99,312 (1602)	120	80
Parma	19,034	25,000	32	33,000	32	73
Naples	150,000	212,000	41	237,784 (1596)	12	59
Venice	100,000	163,627	64	142,804 (1624)	−13	43
Padua	27,000	35,852 (1557)	33	36,000	0	33
Bologna	55,000	70,661 (1581)	29	61,000 (1624)	14	11
Modena	18,000	16,000	−11	19,911 (1596)	25	11
Mantua	28,000	38,000	36	31,000	−18	11
Milan	100,000	n a	—	108,000	—	8
Genoa	60,000	65,500	10	62,396	−5	3
Florence	70,000	60,773 (1551)	16	70,000 (1622)	15	0
Perugia	25,000	19,876 (1551)	−20	19,722 (1618)	0	−20
Brescia	6,060 (1493)	42,660 (1586)	−13	36,000	−16	−36
Verona	n a	52,109 (1586)	—	n a	—	—
Turin	n a	14,000	—	24,000	71	—
Bergamo	n a	17,707 (1586)	—	27,000	50	—
Vicenza	n a	21,268 (1586)	—	37,000	76	—
Ferrara	n a	42,000	—	32,860 (1601)	−22	—
Lucca	n a	24,000	—	24,000	0	—
Siena	n a	13,679 (1560)	—	18,659 (1610)	36	—
Total	771,094	970,306		920,308	19	
% total population	7.71	8.09		8.36		

Figure 3.4



Figure 3.5



Figure 3.6

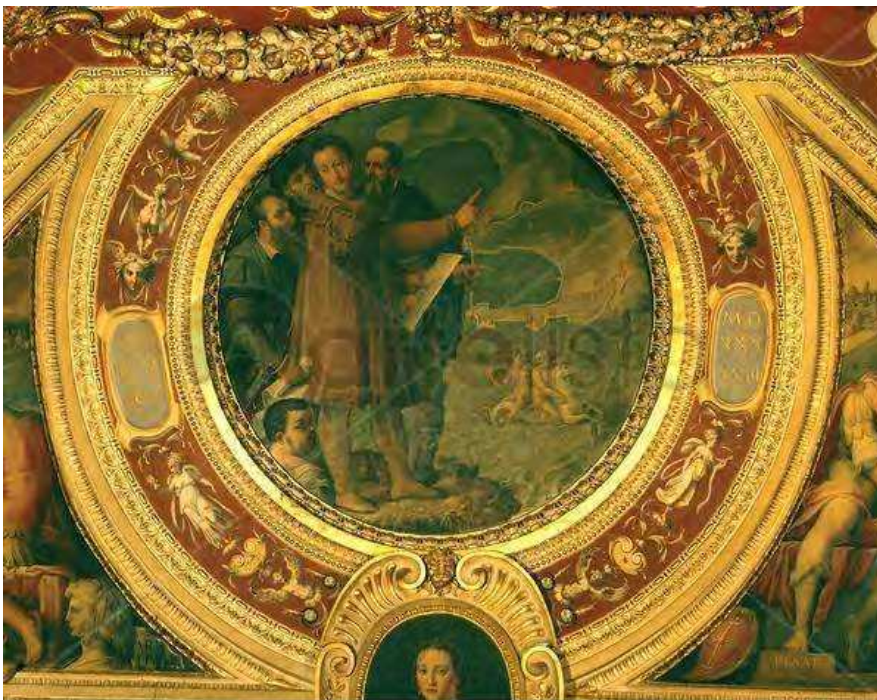


Figure 3.7



Figure 3.8

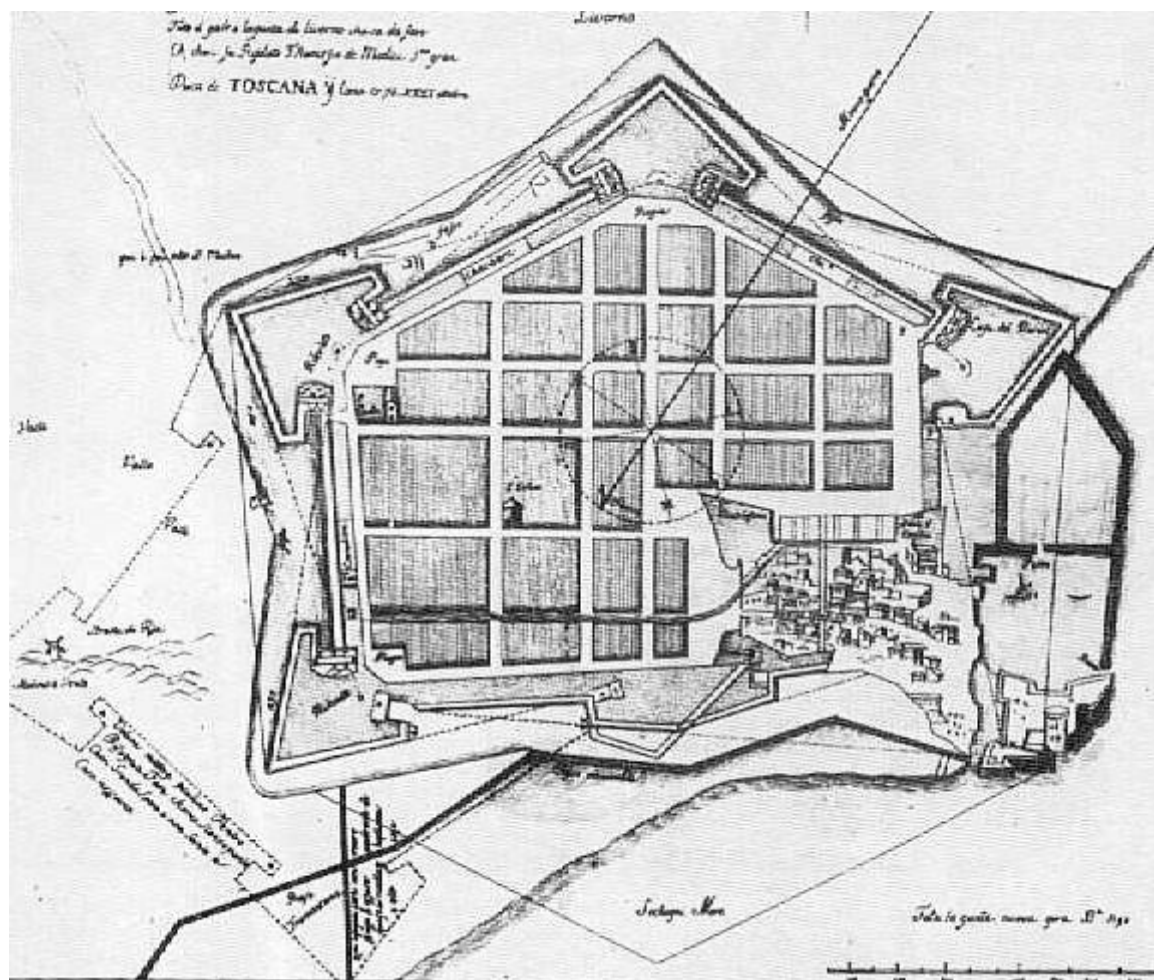


Figure 3.9



Figure 3.10



Figure 3.11



Figure 3.12



Figure 3.13

L I B R O

co in tempo di guerra il poter far fimi caualieri. La piazza principale in mezzo la cit-
 tà s'è lafata per un uerso canne vintidue e mezzo, & per l'altro canne quindici. le mi-
 sure delle altre quattro piazze delle frade, & de gli ipani ombati per gli edifici fi mo-
 strano nel compallo, proportionandole alle già dette. de à tutte le misure, che fi fo-
 no dette, si s'aggiugne di più lo spotto della fcarpa peroche, effendosi fatta alta la fcar-
 pa canne cinque, & perdendo à ogni quattro braccia un braccio, (porta, oltre à quel
 che s'è detto, al muraglia braccia cinque.

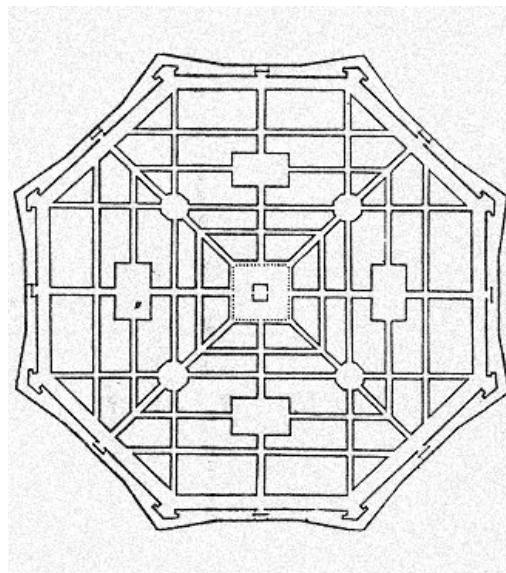
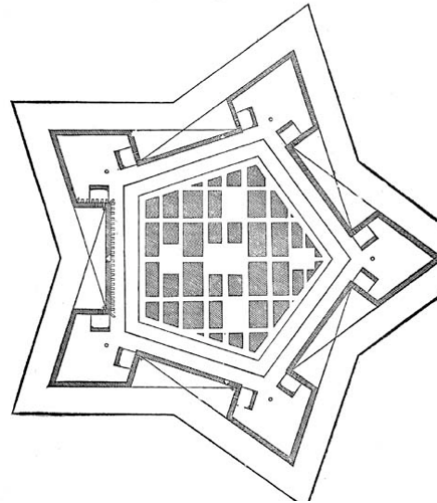
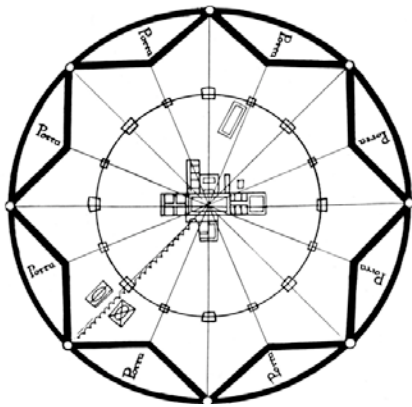


Figure 3.14



Figure 3.15

**Fig. 3.16**

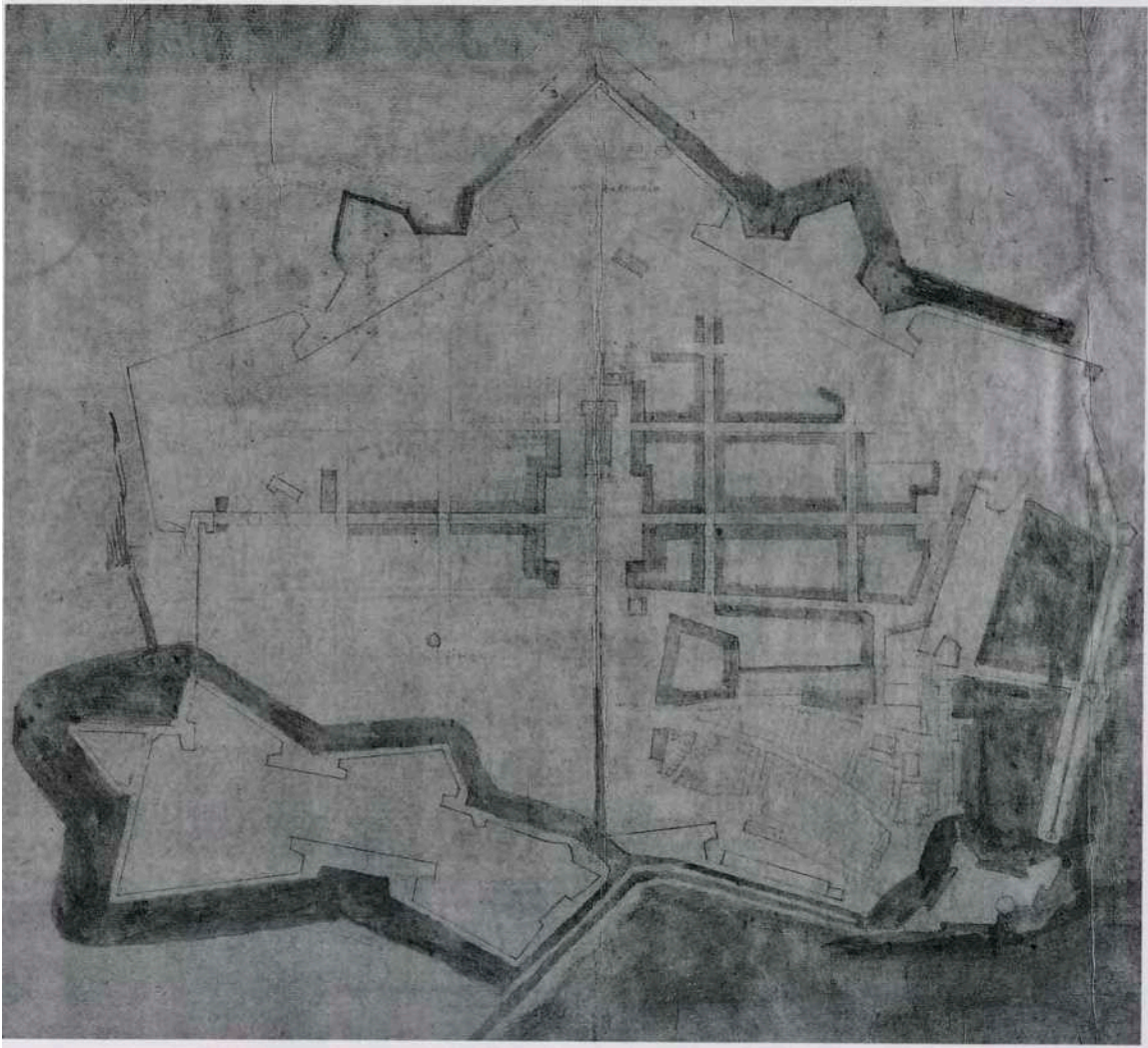


Figure 3.17



Figure 3.18



Figure 4.1

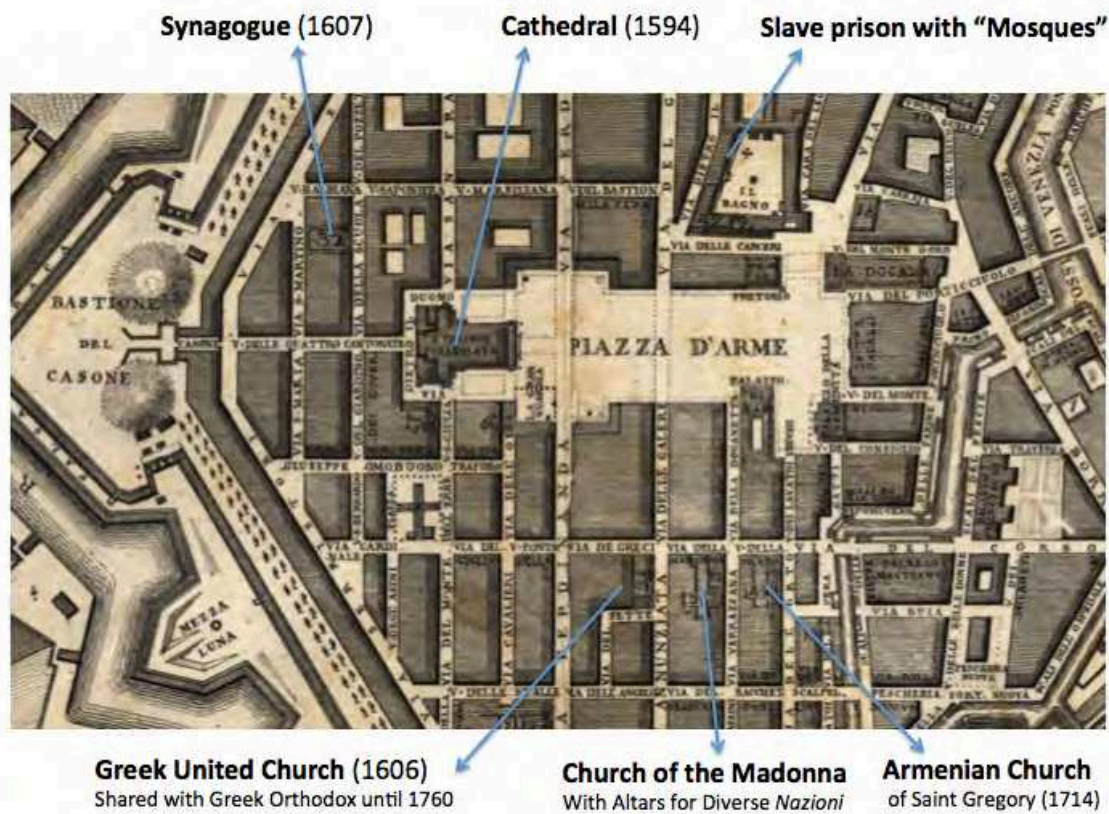


Figure 4.2

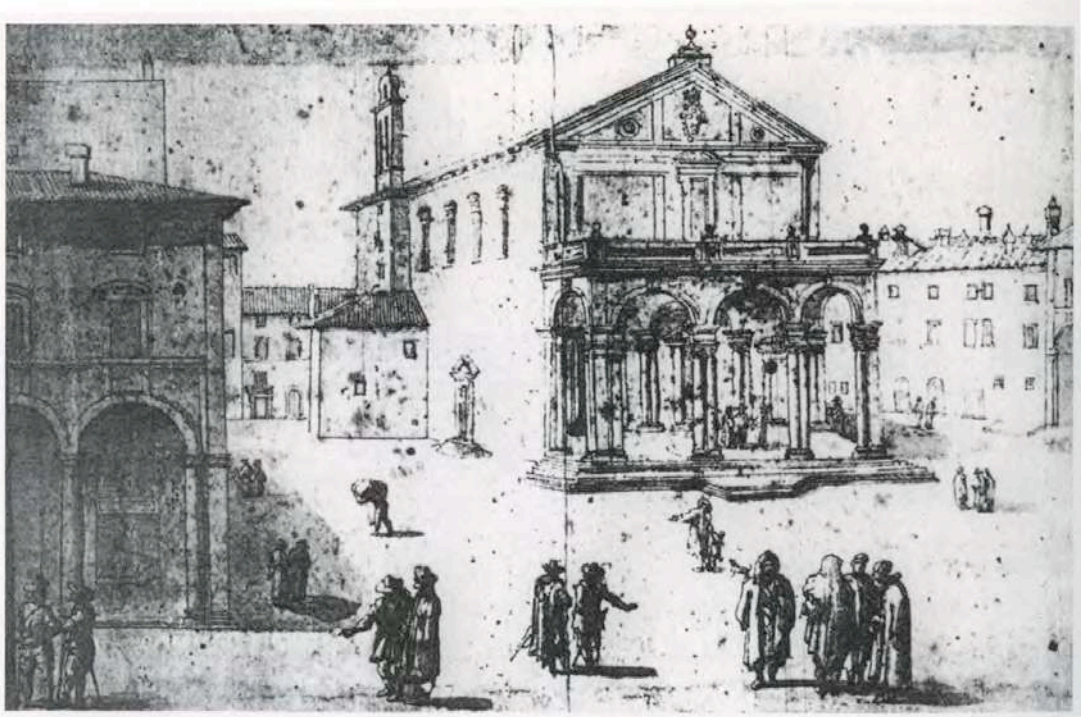


Figure 4.3



Figure 4.4



Figure 4.5

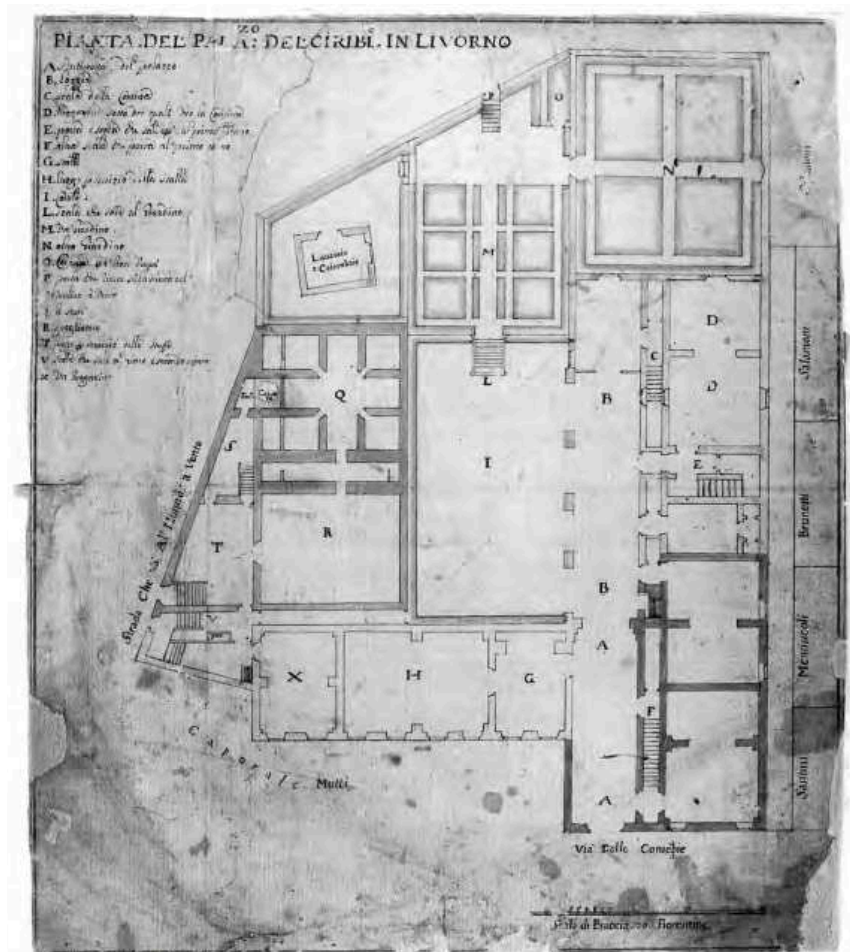


Figure 4.6



Figure 4.7



Figure 4.8



Figure 5.1



Figure 5.2



Figure 5.3



Figure 5.4

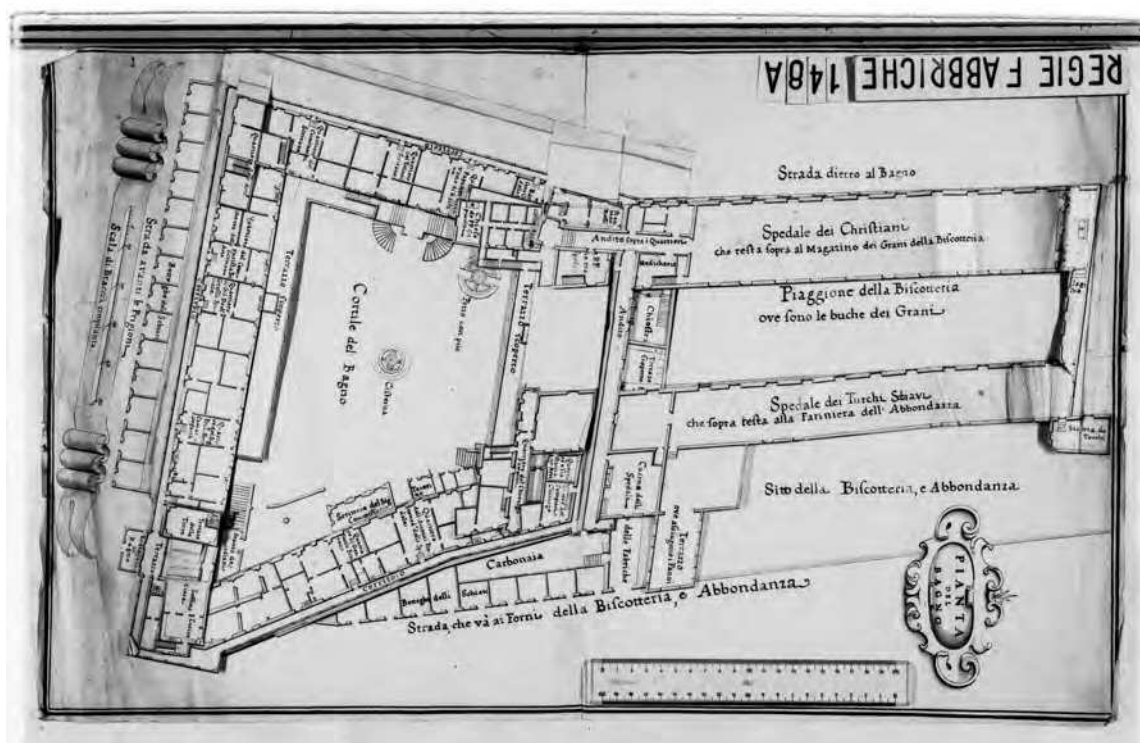


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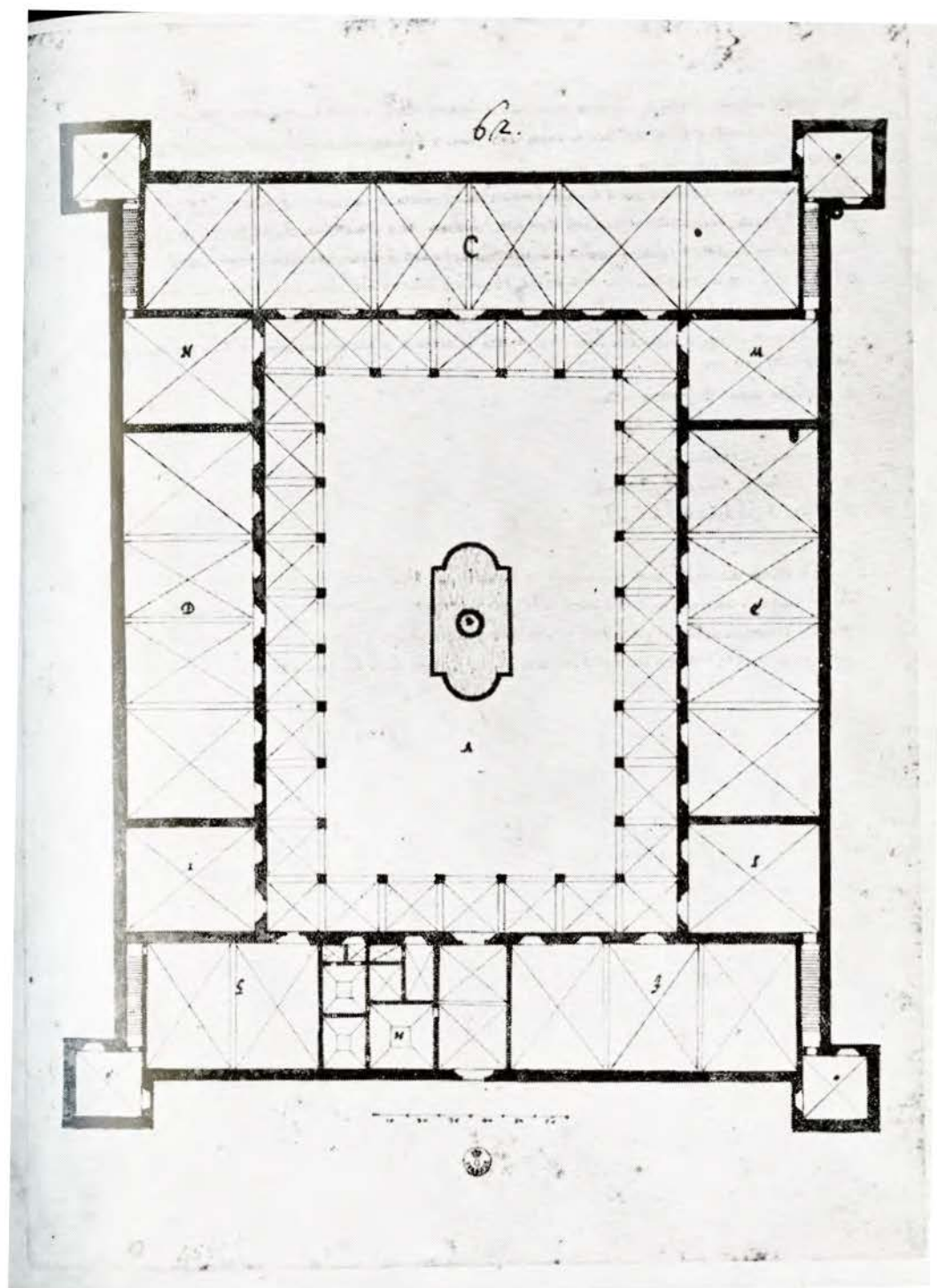


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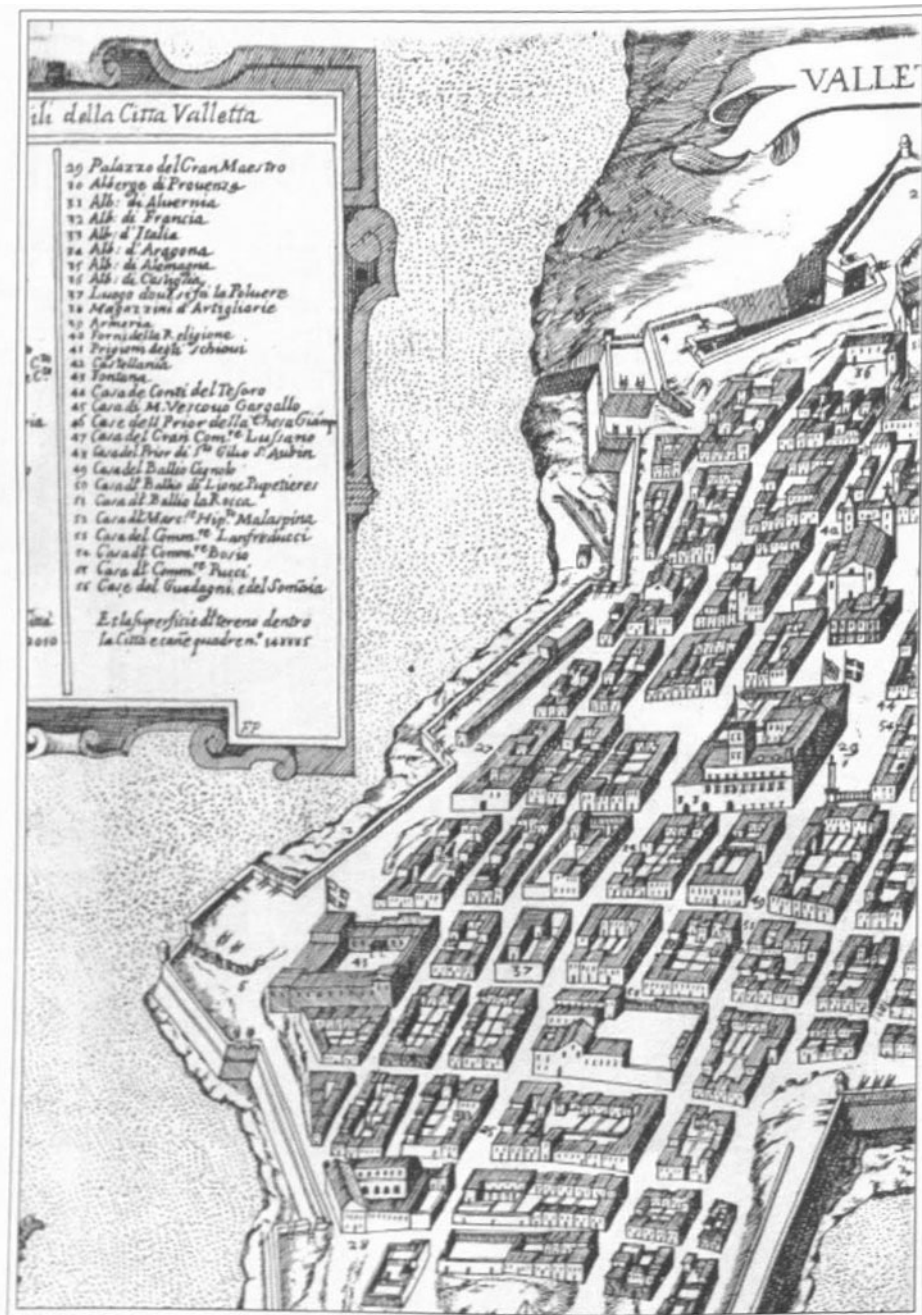


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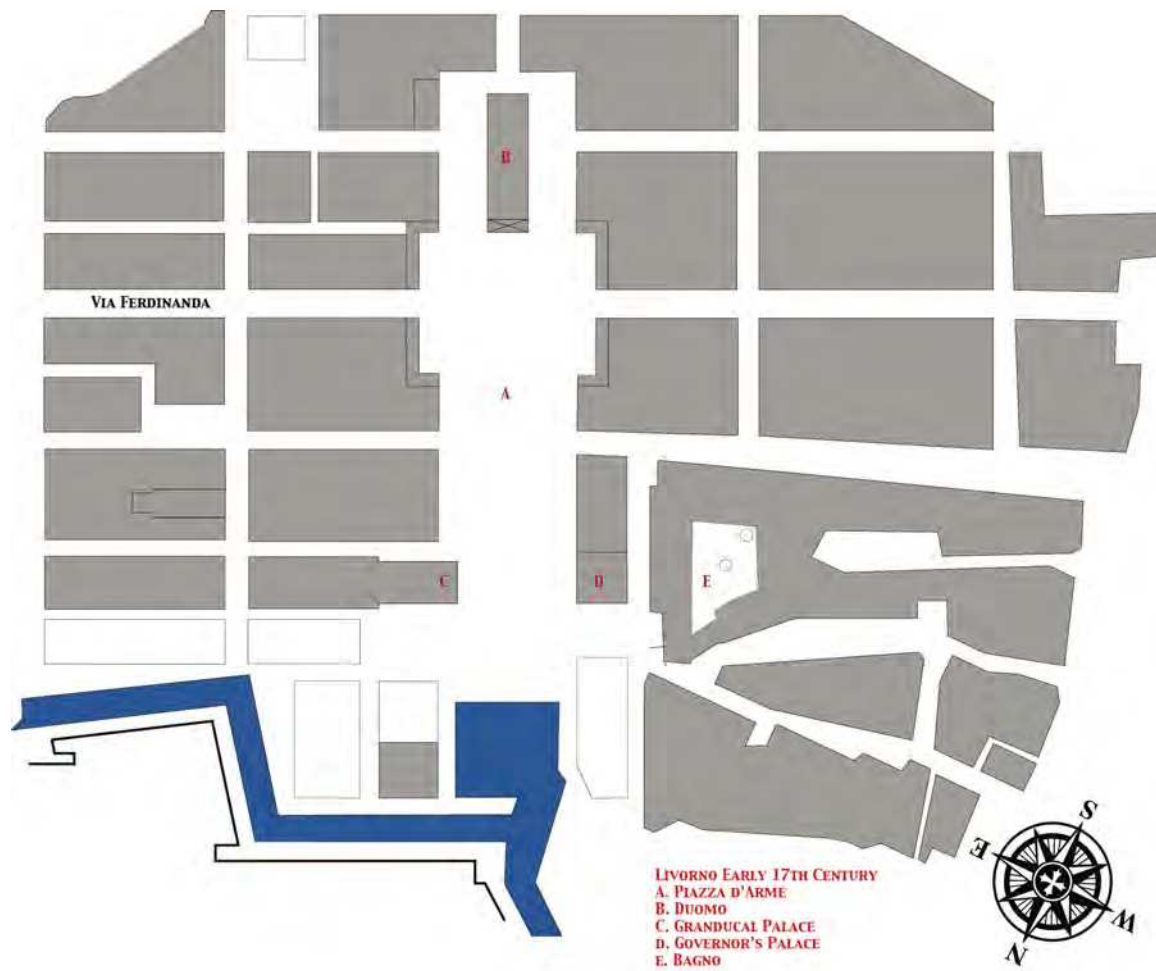


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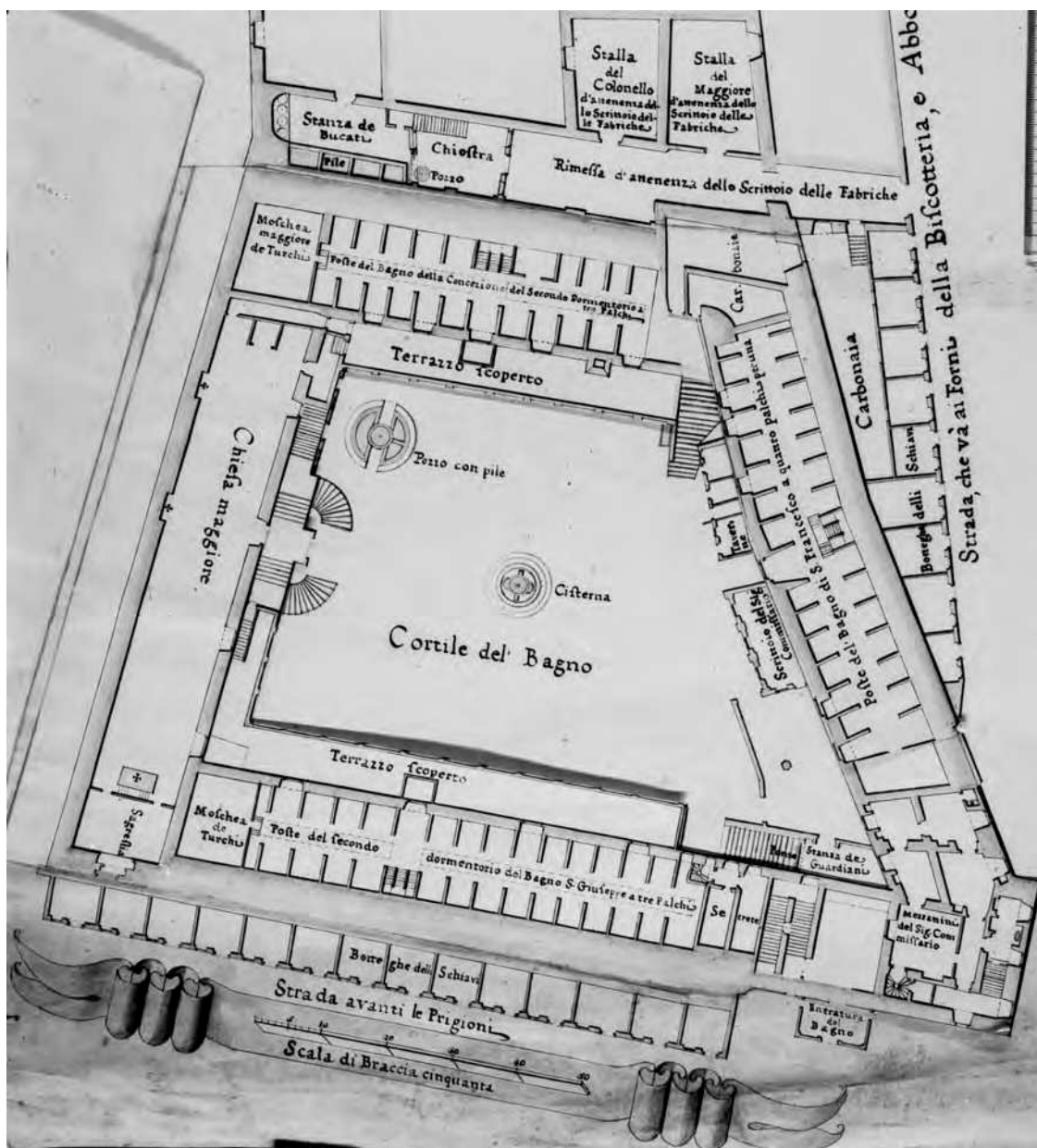
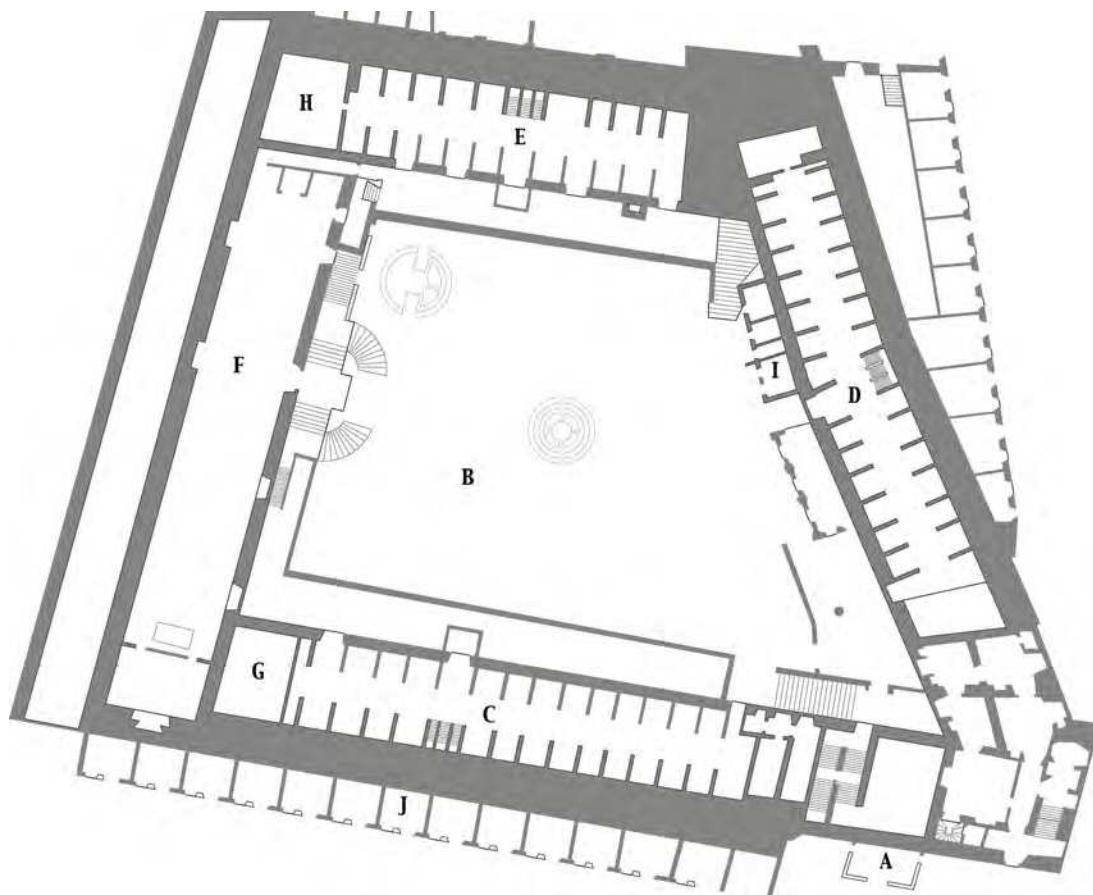


Figure 5.9



- A. Entrance (ground floor)**
- B. Courtyard**
- C. Communal Dormitory “San Giuseppe” (upper level)**
- D. Communal Dormitory “San Francesco” (upper level)**
- E. Communal Dormitory “della Concezione” (upper level)**
- F. Principal Church (upper level)**
- G. Turkish Mosque (upper level)**
- H. Principal Mosque, “Moschea Maggiore” (upper level)**
- I. Tavern (ground floor)**
- J. Slave Shops, “Botteghe delli Schiavi” (ground floor)**

Figure 5.10



Figure 5.11



Figure 5.12



Figure 6.1



Figure 6.2

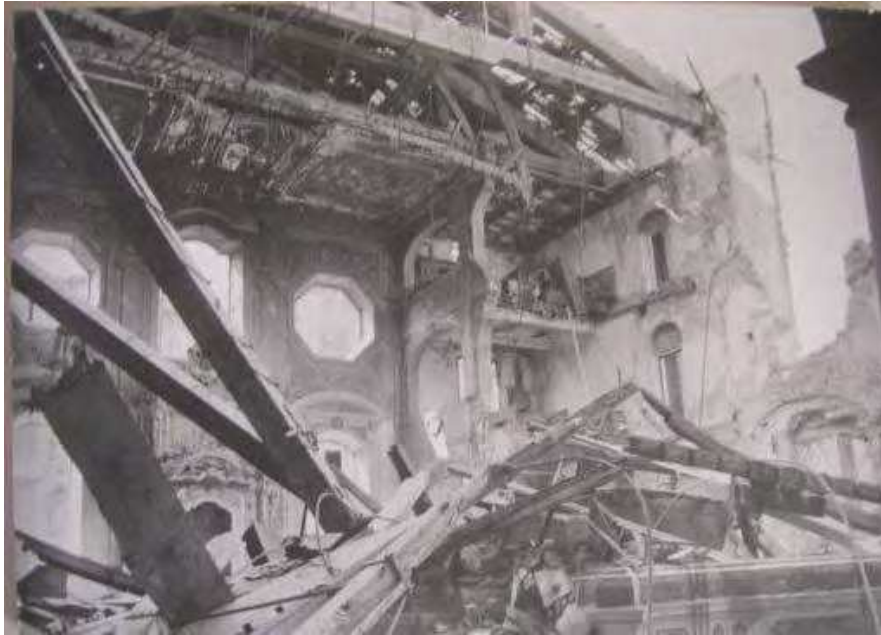


Figure 6.3

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